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PAROCHIAL PATRONAGE AND THE CURE OF SOULS

IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN 1209 - 1299

- by -

COLIN ALEXANDER WEALE, B.A., S.Th.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the patrons, parishes and parochial clergy, including those appointed to parochial and private chapels, in the diocese of Lincoln from 1209 to 1299.

Beginning with a definition of a parish and the exercise of the cure of souls, it goes on to examine what was required of the parochial clergy having such a responsibility. It continues with a study of the patrons and the exercise of their patronage, together with the limitations imposed by the bishops. It includes the appointments made by the religious houses in the diocese, both English and foreign, together with those of the laity, (including the crown), and the bishops.

This is followed by a chapter on the rights of patronage and the many disputes involved in the exercise of those rights. The next chapter deals with the types of parish in the diocese, including the fragmentation of churches, their consolidation, the evils of holding churches in plurality, and the dispensations granted to that end.

The appropriation of churches by the monasteries and the ordination of vicarages by the bishops is discussed. The payment of pensions by the clergy to their predecessors in a parish and to their monastic patrons in unappropriated benefices is also studied.

A study is made of the clergy who served the parishes. The use of papal provisions to parishes and the problems involved is considered, followed by an account of clerical education and the efforts of the bishops to provide a better-trained and celibate clergy.

I have also taken note of those clergy who left the parochial ministry for the religious life. This is followed by a special study of those who exercised the cure of souls in the parochial chapels of the diocese and the comparatively few who served the private chapels.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. and C.	Abbot and Convent
A.A.S.R.P.	Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies' Reports and Papers
B.H.R.S.	Bedfordshire Historical Record Society
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
B.J.R.L.	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Brown, Fasciculus	Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum. London, 1690
ch.	Church
C.P.L.	Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. i. Letters, ed. W. H. Bliss, 1898
C.P.R.	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Councils and Synods	D. Whitelock, M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke, Councils and Synods with other documents relating to the English Church, I, 871-1204, 2 vols., Oxford, 1981. F. H. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, II. 1205-1313, 2 vols., Oxford, 1964
C.R.R.	Curia Regis Rolls
Epistolae	Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae (Rolls Series), ed. H. R. Luard, London, 1861
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Grosseteste	Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste episcopi Lincolnensis, ed. F. H. Davis (Cant. and York Society, x)
Gravesend	Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend Diocesis Lincolnensis (Cant. and York Soc. xxxi)
H.M.S.O.	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
Hugh of Wells	Rotuli Hugonis de Welles Episcopi Lincolnensis, ed. W. P. W. Phillimore and F. H. Davis (Cant. and York Society, i, iii, iv)
I.H.R.	Institute of Historical Research
J.E.H.	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
Liber Antiquus	Liber Antiquus Hugonis Wells 1209-35, ed. A. Gibbons, privately printed 1888
L.R.S.	Lincoln Record Society

P. and C.	Prior and Convent
R.A.	Registrum Antiquissimum (IRS)
R.H.S.	Royal Historical Society
R.S.	Rolls Series
Sutton	The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton, 1280-99, ed. R. M. T. Hill, 1948 etc.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History
Wilkins, Concilia	Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, ed. David Wilkins, 1737

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Wrest Park MS

Cartulary of Crowland Abbey

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PAROCHIAL PATRONAGE AND THE CURE OF SOULS

IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN 1209 - 1299

/ . INTRODUCTION

The pontificate of Innocent III has been described as the most splendid period in the history of the medieval papacy (1). In the fourth Lateran Council of 1215 may be seen his greatest contribution to the reform of the Church and its life. Among those who attended it was Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln (1209-35) (2).

It is evident from his registers that Hugh was determined to carry out the reforms needed in his diocese, the largest in the kingdom, consisting, as it did, of the whole of Lincolnshire, Rutland, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, with part of Hertfordshire. It was divided into eight Archdeaconries: Lincoln, Stow, Leicester, Northampton (which included Rutland), Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Huntingdon, which included some of the parishes of Hertfordshire.

Hugh of Wells was concerned with standards, as will be seen from the number of those required to attend the schools before being instituted to a parish. His chief work was the ordination of vicarages in appropriated churches, which established a pattern for his successors in their dealings with patrons. Of these many were careless in presenting those who were unworthy, others were dilatory, so that the bishop himself, with his authority to collate, acted as patron.

The problems connected with patronage engaged the mind of Hugh of Wells' successor, Robert Grosseteste, who earned the opprobrium of Matthew Paris who represented him as the sworn foe of monasticism, albeit unfairly. Grosseteste could be firm, but yet kind in his dealing with those who lacked what he felt to be necessary in one called to the cura animarum. However, neither pope, king, abbot nor lord could

withstand this great man's love of truth.

His successor, Henry de Lexington (1254-58), did not live long enough to make much impact on the problems concerned with patronage in his diocese. However, he was required to arbitrate in several disputes outlined in the Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln (3).

Richard Gravesend, bishop of Lincoln from 1258-79, whom Matthew Paris described as 'a man meetly worthy of praise, who to no man seemed void of service' (4), continued the policy of his predecessors towards the patrons and those presented by them to churches in his diocese. As will be seen, his particular concern was the establishing of vicarages in the prebendal churches of the diocese. The records of institution were kept with great care and the details of each entry clearly checked by references to the corresponding letter of presentation. Sometimes his efforts to correct abuses were rewarded with rebukes, as his relationship with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kilwardby, shows (5).

Oliver Sutton proved himself to be a worthy successor to Gravesend and he continued the policy of care and concern for his diocese which occupied his predecessors. This is evident from his frequent consultation of the records of those who had preceded him (6). A stickler for correct form, he also made sure that those who occupied themselves with the care of souls were properly ordained and provided for.

This examination of the work of the bishops in their care of the parishes, patrons and priests relies largely on the printed sources available for each episcopate, together with the Registrum Antiquissimum, papal records, charters and State records whenever applicable. In studying the work of patrons in presenting to parishes, the allied topics of

clerical suitability (i.e. education, morality, orders), pluralism, the exercise of papal provisions have also been extensively examined.

From this wealth of material it emerges that some of those presented to livings left much to be desired in their lives. Monastic patrons sometimes appear to be rapacious and had to be checked, others could be generous; and the most notorious of all, Bogo de Clare, on one occasion showed some concern for those depêted to serve for him (7). Those who were resident in their parishes and remained, often for years, might well have been like the 'poor parson' of a later age depicted in Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales':

'A better priest I trow that nowhere none is;
He waited after no pomp and reverence,
Ne makod him a spiced conscience,
But Christes lore, and his Apostles twelve,
He taught, but first he followed it himself.' (8)

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THE PRIEST AND HIS PARISH AND THE CURA ANIMARUM

A parish has been defined as 'a definite area of land the inhabitants of which have the right to the religious offices of an incumbent who is normally in priest's orders, and the duty of accepting his services.' (1). In the thirteenth century the parish was well-established as the ecclesiastical unit and was largely coterminous with single villages or with manors. In the towns the units had grown up out of the administrative arrangements or the ownership of property. Town parishes were sometimes created by landlords building churches for tenants on their property or citizens banding together to build themselves a church. A classic example of this appears in the Domesday record for Lincoln. It is recorded that Colswein, an eleventh century speculative builder, had been granted by the king some waste land on the S.E. edge of the city. Here he had built thirty-six houses and to serve the spiritual needs of the occupants, two churches (2).

The Councils of Westminster in 1127 and 1138 assume that in every parish there will be a parish priest called a 'rector' or 'parson' whose primary function will be the government of souls, his cura animarum (3). The account of patronage is inextricably bound up with the cure of souls of those presented to livings in the diocese. It was the aim of the bishops of the thirteenth century, duly influenced by the decrees of the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, to make certain that no parish suffered because of neglect, ignorance or laxity. The patrons, particularly the laity, were not always so assiduous, as will be shown.

The registers of Hugh of Wells, Grosseteste, and to a lesser extent those of Gravesend and Sutton contain the words 'cum onere et

pena vicariorum' in the records of institutions to vicarages and some rectories. The duties of a vicar, St. Thomas Aquinas felt, did not require any great learning. Even so he did need to "know those things which pertain to the teaching of faith and morals", a knowledge of what his parishioners, by the law of the church, should believe and observe (4).

What was required of the clergy was laid down particularly by Robert Grosseteste. Shortly after he became Bishop of Lincoln he issued a set of constitutions requiring the clergy in his diocese to know and teach the people in the mother tongue the decalogue, the seven deadly sins, the seven sacraments and the creed. The clergy were also to recite the Divine Office in its entirety with devout attention. All pastors, after reciting the offices in church, are to give themselves diligently to prayers and the reading of Holy Scripture. Parish priests must be ready by day or night to visit the sick when required to do so, lest by their negligence they die without confession, communion and unction (5).

'Parish priests and rectors are to see that the children of their parishioners are diligently taught to know the Lord's Prayer, the creed, the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, and how to sign themselves with the sign of the cross, and adults who come to confession should be examined as to the knowledge of these and be instructed as far as is fitting' (6).

The burdens laid upon the parish clergy had increased during this century, particularly as a result of the decrees of the Lateran Council of 1215. One of the duties emphasised in the cura animarum was that of confessor. Among the Lateran decrees a very prominent position was given by the bishops to the enactment imposed upon all Christians, who had arrived at the years of discretion, of the duty of confessing as well as of communicating at least once in the year. Instructions were also laid down for the priest: 'The priest, moreover,

shall be discreet and cautious, so that in the manner of the skilful physician he may pour wine and oil upon the wounds of the injured, diligently searching out the circumstances both of the sinner and of the sin, that from these he may prudently understand what manner of advice he ought to apply, employing various measures in order to heal the sick' (7).

In the interests of securing a perfect confession the parish priest was required to pursue his penitent with regard to the fundamentals of the faith, such as the fourteen articles of the creed, the ten commandments, and the Golden Rule, the seven sacraments, the works of mercy and the vices and the virtues.

These elements of faith were also to form the subject matter of sermons to be delivered several times a year, although it seems that the thirteenth century injunction to preach was commonly disregarded. The ideal is seen in the words of Roger of Salisbury who compared the preacher with 'the two doors of olive wood in Solomon's temple; their words should be what the stars are to seamen' (8).

In 1281 Archbishop Pecham issued his Constitutions at the Provincial Synod of Lambeth, a chapter of which begins with the now famous 'The ignorance of priests precipitates the people into the pit of error' (9). He put out a manual of teaching on the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Principal Virtues and the Seven Sacraments. The most ill-equipped parish priest was required to give his outline instructions, based on this manual of teaching. The summae or manuals of pastoral theology, not least Grosseteste's 'Templum Domini', provided some help. The sacraments of the Church were deemed to be essential and even those who might be hardened enough to miss shrift or sacrament at Easter would be terrified at the idea of dying unhouseled. Mass was put before the people by the parish clergy as the necessary centre of religion.

In addition to these duties it was the concern of the priest to provide the books, ornaments and vestments. At Shabbington, during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells, the vicar and the Prior and Convent of Wallingford (patrons) shared the burden proportionately for the fabric of the chancel, the ornaments and the books (10). The patrons usually were responsible for repairs to the nave and the rector for the repairs to the chancel, wine, wafers, candles, incense etc. When a church was appropriated to a monastery and a vicarage set up special arrangements were made. In the newly-appropriated church of Ravensden the vicar had to pay synodals only and the Prior and Convent of Newnham the patrons, are to bear all other burdens (11). The vicarage records of Hugh of Wells frequently state that the vicar should bear the burden of synodals only, while the rector was required to provide suitable hospitality for the archdeacon on his visitations, i.e. his entertainment with food and lodging and stable accommodation for his horses, or its equivalent in money (procuration).

The Council of Oxford of 1222 allowed the bishop wide discretionary powers as to the assignment of the burdens, so the practice varied greatly. From Hugh of Wells' register sometimes the vicar bears no burdens at all, or synodals only, or all 'due and customary burdens'.

The duty of keeping the books and ornaments in good repair is underlined in the institution of Gervase de Crydelington as vicar of Haxey where he is to pay synodals 'et libros et vestimenta et alia ornamenta ecclesie honeste reperiet' (12). The vicar of Cuddesdon, presented by the corporate rectors, the Convent of Abingdon, in addition to providing suitable ministers to assist him, has also to provide books, ornaments and lights and is responsible for all other dues, i.e. procurations (in ea ministros ydoneos et libros et ornamenta et luminaria competentia, et sustinebit omnia alia onera ejusdem ecclesie episcopalia et

archidiaconalia (13). While the vicar of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, has to provide not only lamps, but incense, straw, bellrope, wine and wafers (et necessarios luminaria competentia incensum stramen cordas ad campanas vinum et hostias et hujusmodi minuta que fieri consueverunt circa altaria) (14).

In Sutton's register similar arrangements are outlined in the appropriation of the church of Tathwell and the ordination of a vicarage (15) and in the appropriation of Ashby Puerorum the vicar 'solvethque idem vicarius sinodalia, et Letare, ac vinum inveniet et oblatas' (16).

Towards the end of the century there is an instance of laity being required to assist in the bearing of some of the burdens. At Totternhoe (Beds.) in 1293 it is stated that the laity are to provide banners, a cross, candles and a Missal (17).

However, possibly the greatest burden to be borne by a rector or a perpetual vicar was the support of the various chaplains and clerks required in a parish. There are numerous references in the Liber Antiquus of Hugh of Wells of parishes having on their staff a vicar with chaplains and clerks, as at Bicester (18). At Harrold the vicar is to have a deacon and a boy (19), and at High Wycombe three chaplains are required (20).

The Council of Oxford of 1222 had emphasized the necessity of having in the larger parishes two or three priests because 'ne forte, ^{et} quod absit, egrotante uno presbitero vel alias debilitato, parochianis infirmant - ^{denied}ibus aut divinis volentibus officiis interesse officia debita subtrahantur vel negentur ecclesiastica sacramenta'. (21).

Grosseteste in 1238 reaffirmed this in his synodal statutes declaring that 'in every church where funds permit there shall be a deacon and subdeacon to minister therein as is fitting: in other churches there must be at least one adequate and suitable clerk, who, properly attired, shall assist in the divine office.' (22).

In ordaining a vicarage in the prebendal church of Sleaford (Lincs.) Bishop Gravesend arranged that the vicar should provide from his own resources for a second priest, a deacon 'et aliis ministris idoneis et necessariis ecclesie deserviat' (23).

The church of Harrowden, appropriated by the Abbot and Convent of Sulby, and confirmed by Bishop Oliver Sutton, in addition to its perpetual vicar is to be served 'per se et alios ministros necessarios et ydoneos'. (24).

Apart from the everyday anxieties of being a priest, occasionally a vicar would have disputes to settle. At Haxey when a dispute arose between Roger, the vicar, and some of his parishioners about the appointment of a holy water bearer (aquebajulus) it was settled by the bishop's commissaries. They ordained that the appointment should be made by the vicar, that poor clerks born in the parish should have preference, that the rector's rights were not to be prejudiced and that the Archdeacon of Stow should decide whether the appointed clerk should spend his spare time in the schools or in the service of the church (25).

Occasionally the vicar would have the added burden of employing an emergency helper, or a coadjutor. For example when Silvester, a foreigner, was instituted to the vicarage of Whitchurch (Oxon) by Hugh of Wells he is always to have a chaplain dwelling with him able to administer confessions and other sacraments in the tongue known to the parishioners ('qui sciat et possit parochianis in lingua eis nota, confessiones et alia spiritualia ministrare'). (26)

Geoffrey de Fontinello, rector of Broxholme, during Gravesend's episcopate, is to have a suitable priest with him as a companion who is able to serve competently in the English language 'in cura parochiali sufficienter expertum qui medio tempore sub eo curam agat ecclesie memorate'. (27)

The burdens of Robert of Burwell, presented to the chapel of St. James, Frampton, were increased in that not only did he have to provide lights and the wages of a clerk to assist in the services, and to keep the chapel and its appurtenances in proper repair, but also to provide for his predecessor, Robert of Wenham, who had been mad for five years (28). The rector of Blethingdon also had to have a coadjutor because of his madness (29). Sutton's registers instance numerous other cases where the incumbent has to have a coadjutor who would take care of the parish because he was old, infirm or mad (30).

Apart from the provision of chaplains and clerks the other heavy burden borne by rectors and sometimes by perpetual vicars was that of maintaining the chancel in good repair, as for example in the churches of the vicarages ordained by Hugh of Wells. Dunstable Priory had five vicarages ordained by him in their churches of Studham, Totternhoe, Chalgrave, Segenhoe and Husborne Crawley. Here the prior was to sustain all burdens concerning the hospitality of the archdeacon, the provision of books, the repair of the chancels, vestments, utensils and tallages for his portion. The vicars of the churches were to bear all other burdens (31).

R. A. R. Hartridge has pointed out that references to the chancel burdens are not numerous during the thirteenth century: this may be because they were included in the extraordinary burdens that were nearly always borne by the rectors (32). It is possible that where a vicar receives the whole church and pays a pension to an absentee rector, he would naturally have to bear all burdens, which included those of the repair and upkeep of the chancel. This seems to be the case at Helpstone where Geoffrey of Helpstone is instituted vicar, 'cum onere et pena vicariorum' and also the 'vicarius sustenebit omnia onera ipsius ecclesie ordinaria, debita et consueta,' and he is to pay the parson, Walter de Burgo, a pension of 4 marks (33). The letter of institution emphasizes

that the vicar is to hold the whole church (34).

In Gravesend's register the vicar of Legsby (Lincs.) is relieved of the burden of repairing the chancel and providing hospitality for the archdeacon, which is taken on by the Priory of Sixhills, the appropriators (35).

Occasionally rectors were negligent in keeping the churches in their care in good repair: the late rector of Wood Walton (Hunts.), Richard of Stamford, seems to have been negligent as the archdeacon of Huntingdon's Official was required to sequestrate the goods of the rector for the repair work (36).

Evidently the rector of Caythorpe, Robert of Walgrave, had been negligent in his upkeep of the chancel and the books, vestments and ornaments in the church as the Official of the Archdeacon of Lincoln is to visit the church and have them repaired at the former rector's expense (37). The successor to John of Reed in the church of Berkhamstead had authority to use the fruits of the church for the preceding autumn in repairing various intolerable defects left in the chancel and the manse. John was to be compelled to pay arrears of stipend too, due to those who had served the said church during his tenure of the living (38). The executors of the late Master Robert of Harrington were required to repair notable defects which he had left in the chancel, ornaments and manse of the church of Rothwell (39). For some the burdens were just too much.

Although residence was a requirement of one holding a cure of souls, a rector was often an absentee. In this case he appointed a deputy, with the agreement of his patron, who became the vicar of the parish. As will be shown such an appointment became more secure during this century. Vicars had no choice but to reside.

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- 4 Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologiae Supplementum 3, 2, ad. 1, ad. 2. *quoted by L.E. Boyle, Pastoral Care etc., ch. ix. p. 20*
- 5 Grosseteste, Epistolae, (Rolls Series) lii, pp. 154-6.
- 6 Ibid.
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- 10 Hugh of Wells ii. pp. 49-50.
- 11 Ibid. i. p. 113.
- 12 Grosseteste, Register p. 147.
- 13 Ibid. p. 455.
- 14 Ibid. p. 451
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- 17 Annales Monastici iii. p. 377.
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- 22 Ibid. C.32 p. 273.
- 23 Gravesend p. 72.
- 24 Sutton i. p. 91.
- 25 Ibid. iii, p. 104.
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- 30 Ibid. iii. p. 1, 2, 5, 15, 19, 52-8, 187, 200
- 31 Hugh of Wells iii. pp. 2-3, Annales Monastici iii. p. 59.
- 32 Hartridge, op. cit. pp. 141-2.
- 33 Hugh of Wells ii. p. 161.
- 34 Ibid. ii. pp. 245-6.
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- 37 Ibid. iii. p. 184.
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THE PATRONS

Under the proprietorial system of the late Anglo-Saxon society the choice of a priest as parson or persona of a parish had been in the hands of local landowners or a group of freemen. The proprietary church system or seignorial dominium over churches was rooted in the social and economic structure of late Anglo-Saxon society. The lord had the right of choosing the priest and receiving from him an annual rent which often consisted of personal or labour services. (1)

In England, the ownership of churches by monasteries before the Conquest was relatively rare, and the view that possession of a church was a financial asset to be exploited was not seriously held until the reign of Edward the Confessor. After the Conquest the new manorial lords from Normandy frequently gave the churches in their possession together with the endowments, to religious foundations which they favoured. These included abbeys abroad such as Bec and Mont St. Michael. By the end of the twelfth century 'something like a quarter of the parish churches of England were in the hands of the religious houses.' (2). At the time of Bishop Hugh of Wells the majority of the churches in the diocese had monastic patrons; only in the archdeaconry of Buckingham did the lay patrons outnumber the monastic. The details are as follows:

Lincoln Archdeaconry had 109 secular patrons and 240 monastic

Oxford Archdeaconry had 48 secular patrons and 77 monastic

Stow Archdeaconry had 19 secular patrons and 40 monastic

Bedford had 22 secular patrons and 61 monastic

Huntingdon had 26 secular patrons and 33 monastic

Buckingham had 76 secular patrons and 59 monastic

Leicester had 55 secular patrons and 77 monastic

Northampton Archdeaconry had 82 secular patrons and 107 monastic. (3)

Many of the monastic patrons featured in the rolls of the bishops of this diocese were small and poor communities, truly pauperes Christi; but others were large and powerful. Bardney Abbey, for example, possessed sixteen livings in their gift (4). St. Albans Abbey had eight livings in Buckinghamshire alone (5). Leicester Abbey too possessed a large number of parish churches (6). Secular patrons could not rival the convents, and the great Earl of Poitou and Cornwall had only eleven churches in his gift (7). Nicholas of Verdun, another influential lay patron, had the advowson of only seven churches in his possession (8).

The process of endowing monasteries with parish churches and the rights of patronage continued throughout the century. During Hugh of Wells' episcopate the advowson of the chapel of the hospital founded in Little Wymondley was granted by Richard de Argentein to the chapter of Lincoln. The church of Little Wymondley formed part of the endowment of the hospital (9). The Liber Antiquus also reveals that Stainton (probably Sturton in Lincs.) was given to the Canons of Topholme (10), Kirkby to the new hospital at Tevelsford (11), a mediety of Bodington to the Priory of Chacombe (12), Stratford to the house of Luffield (13). The nuns of Fosse received the advowson of Willingham (14) while the church of Marsworth was given to the Prior and Convent of Caldwell (15), Hockliffe was given to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Hockliffe (16), and Sutterby to the Nuns of Chester (17). The advowson of the church of Cabourne was given to the Abbot and Canons of Grimsby (18), and the church of Wroxton to the Prior of St. Mary, Wroxton (19). At the end of Hugh's episcopate Rose de Verdun endowed the Priory of Grace Dieu with the manor and the advowson of Belton in Leicestershire (20).

In 1276 Crowland Abbey was granted the advowson of the church of Easton on the Hill (Northampton) by Simon de Lindon (21). Such generosity did not always go unchallenged.

The heirs of Michael Belet who had generously given the advowson of Wroxton church to the Priory of Wroxton disapproved of his charity. In the Calendar of Papal Letters in May 1221 it is recorded that 'a certain clerk Michael has founded a religious house on his property with the consent of his brother, the next heir; but Walter de Verdun, who hoped to succeed to the property, disturbed the canons, who numbered at present only six (22). After Michael's death the patroness of Wroxton Priory was Annora de Verdun. This priory had also been granted the advowson of Syston in Lincolnshire but in 1270 it had been settled that they should have only every alternate presentation. Thus we find the bishop of Lincoln (Richard Gravesend) presenting in July 1273, by authority of the Council, salvo sibi jure in posterum ad ipsam presentandi qui jus patronatus evicerit ejusdem (23).

Sometimes a monastery relinquished its original endowments, as in the case of Leicester Abbey. Among its original endowments appear the Leicester churches of Knaptoft, Stoney Stanton, Arnesby, Aldeby (Enderby?), Cosby, Shepshed, with all the churches of the soke of Shepshed, Thurnby, Illston, West Ilsley (Berks.) and the churches of Brackley and Farthinghoe (Northants.) Before 1162 the abbey had also obtained from various donors a number of other churches, including Langton, Knipton and Wanlip. Before the end of the thirteenth century the following churches had passed out of their hands: Knaptoft, Stoney Stanton, Illston, Langton, Knipton and Wanlip. The latter was not handed over without a struggle. There was a dispute concerning the patronage in 1231 between the abbot and Nicholas le Abbe. The King's Court found in the abbot's favour (24). However, in 1277 Dom. William Walens is found presenting his son Peter to Wanlip, and again in 1279 because he had not obtained priest's orders (25). The same family held the advowson during Sutton's episcopate. The parish of Langton (Leics.) was also in the hand of the abbey during Hugh of Wells' episcopate, but by 1279 it had passed into the hands of two knights, William and John Latimer (26).

In addition to the endowments made to monastic houses, were the parish churches which came to be appropriated to prebends in the cathedral. Four churches in the diocese of Lincoln provided the endowment for a number of prebends in Salisbury Cathedral. Two churches in Grantham were made over to Salisbury, and the Salisbury chapter to this day includes Grantham Australis and Grantham Borealis in its list of prebends. In addition there were the churches of Bricklesworth (Brixworth), Northamptonshire, and Shipton, Oxfordshire, which were made over to Salisbury cathedral early in the twelfth century, to provide the income for a prebend. Later, during the episcopate of Richard Poore (1217-29), the income was separated to provide for two prebends; and in 1240 the church of Bricklesworth was specifically assigned to the chancellorship of the cathedral.

The patron of these prebends was the Bishop of Salisbury, but vicars were presented by the prebend^{ary} with the consent of the bishop and chapter of Salisbury (27).

Other bishops who were patrons of churches in the diocese of Lincoln were the Bishop of Carlisle who presented to Horncastle, Moorby, Mareham-le-Fen (28), and to Little Marlow (a mediety) because of his custody of the lands and heir of Richard Neirmuit, and to Tring on behalf of the Convent of Romilly sur Seine (29). The Bishop of Ely presented to Bluntisham, Hatfield, Kelshall and Somersham, during Grosseteste's episcopate (30), and the Bishop of Chichester to Brightwell (31).

The bishops of Lincoln took great care to establish the rights of patronage of anyone to a living. Particularly during the episcopate of Hugh of Wells were the rights of a lay patron called in question if he had been involved in the struggle between King John and the Barons. Among those who were considered to have sided with the barons against the king was William Malebise. Two rural deans, Ralph de Calkwell and

A. of Bolingbroke were instructed, when William sought to present his son to the church of Enderby, to enquire if he had been cum baronibus contra Regem. As it turned out the poor man had been paralysed for two years and had not taken part in the rebellion against the king but semper fuit ad pacem domini Regis (32). Hugh of Harrington, on the other hand, because he had been involved in the general sentence of excommunication against the barons, was not allowed to present Robert, Rural Dean of Glooston, to the Chapel of Glooston (33). The benefice remained void for six months and then the Bishop conferred it upon Robert. The institution of Elias de Sutton to the church of Claxby (Lincs.) was postponed until it should appear "^{whether} an presentator ejus fuerit cum baronibus contra Regem" (34).

The patron of Claypole and ~~Howe~~/Sir G. de ~~Howe~~/had been excommunicated, so the bishop presented to the livings; but the patron's rights were safeguarded and he was allowed on returning to the unity of the church to confirm the collation made by the bishop (35).

In some cases the right of patronage devolved upon the chief lord of the fee when the true patron had been excommunicated. Robert de Ver had been excommunicated, so Joscelin de Aureliano was presented by William Marshal, chief lord of the fee, to Whitchurch (Bucks) (36). Often it is stated that the rights of patronage would be restored to a patron who had been excommunicated on his return to the unity of the church. An example of this may be seen in the parish of Shipton where Walter, chaplain of St. George, Oxford, was instituted to the church of Shipton on the presentation of Ralph, son of Robert, chief lord of the fee (37).

Occasionally the papal legate exercised the right of presentation when a patron was excommunicated, as at Caddington (Bedfordshire) when Brand, one of the Canons of St. Paul's, patron of a mediety had been

excommunicated for siding with the barons, he presented William de Grisneto, a nephew of the late Abbot Beaulieu (38). At Houghton Conquest (Bedfordshire) the papal legate also exercised his rights of patronage, as John de Beauchamp had been excommunicated by the authority of the Pope ^{de Beaulieu} 'pro contumacia sua multiplici' (39).

At Ruskington, the clerk, Manasser, who was presented, had done "many evil deeds in the time of the war", and was directed to clear himself before the Archdeacon (40).

Robert Grosseteste viewed lay patronage in a different light. He felt that it was contrary to right that laymen were held to be patrons of a church, yet in actual practice he had to admit their rights while watching with a critical eye the manner in which they were exercised (41).

Shortly after his election as bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste received a letter from a certain Master Michael Beleth criticizing his rejection of a presentee to a parochial cure. Grosseteste replied with savage courtesy. It seems that he had rejected a certain deacon, untunsured, illiterate ('pannis rubeis vestitum et annulatum, habitu et gestu laicum, vel potius militem'). He could have passed for a layman or soldier in his ring and red getup. The monk from an unnamed community who had presented this deacon had already been reprimanded in the severest terms and was told that he would 'evidenter vadis in infernum' if that was all he cared about the blood of Christ (42).

Thus Master Beleth could see that no injustice had been done: the monk sponsor was exposing souls to death, souls for which he, Grosseteste, their bishop, was responsible before God. He showed in his letter to Beleth that it was not enough to reject the presentee: the presenter also had to be rebuked.

His attitude towards patrons was fearless, whether they be monastic houses, bishops, king or pope. His concern at all times was

that the right man for the job should be appointed. Evidently he felt that the wrong man had been presented when Henry III in 1245 presented Robert Passelawe, a Forest Judge, to the church of St. Péter, Northampton. Grosseteste refused to admit him to a cura animarum, which would be to go against divine and canon law, and to commit a breach of the profession of faith he had made at his consecration as bishop (43). The Forest Judge was engaged in secular pursuits, contrary to canon law, so as far as Grosseteste was concerned he was unfit to care for any pastoral office whatsoever.

Passelawe appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface of Savoy, to compel Grosseteste to institute him to St. Peter's, Northampton. The bishop wrote to the archbishop reminding him of the nature of his office and also of that of his Official, and implored him to restrain him (44). The only record of an institution to Northampton St. Peter in Grosseteste's rolls is that of Master John Houton, Archdeacon of Northampton (45). Powicke comments that 'He (Passelawe) was the most disliked of Henry's busy servants, and later was especially unpopular for his inquisition into encroachments of the royal forests in 1243-4' (46).

A number of parishes were in the gift of foreign patrons, both lay and monastic: the latter held far more advowsons than the former. In the register of Hugh of Wells three powerful foreign patrons are named: Robert, Count of Dreux and Lord of St. Valerie, Robert de Dampno Martino, acting for the Count of Boulogne, and the Duke of Brittany (47).

The Count of Dreux presented a Frenchman to the parish of Northleigh and a chaplain had to be provided who could speak English as Ingelram, his presentee, did not know English (48). Laurence of Bononia owed his preferment to the church of Springthorpe to the Count of Boulogne (49). Wibert also owed his presentation to Mixbury to the Count of Dreux (50). The Duke of Brittany made two presentations. He rewarded

his chancellor Gerard with the church of Washingborough (Lincs.) and Haco, another presentee, with Wyberton (51). During Hugh of Wells' episcopate, in addition to the above-mentioned presentations, 27 aliens were presented to parishes (52). Hugh himself presented four, three of whom had links with the papal curia: Stephen de Fossa Nova, nephew of the pope was presented to Nettleton, William de St. Germain, the Pope's Writer, was presented to the prebend of Little Bytham and Gregory, a nephew of Gregory, Cardinal Deacon of St. Theodore, was presented to Scalford (53). Andrew, son of Octavian Tecald, a Roman citizen was presented to a mediety of Horbling (54).

Cardinal Gualo, papal legate, provided for three of his nephews to livings in the diocese: one was appointed to Knaptoft, John to Rothley and another anonymous one to Langton (55).

On the whole the alien priories and abbeys in the diocese seem to have chosen Englishmen to administer the parishes of which they were patrons. The monks of Ivry in Normandy presented Otuel vicar of Asthall (Oxfordshire) (56), and the Abbot and Convent of St. Sever presented Matthew de Talavenda to the church of Haugham (Lincs.) (57). As he was unable to speak English he had to provide a chaplain 'qui linguam sciat Anglicam' (58). On Matthew's death the proctor for the abbey presented a local man Peter de Haugham to the vicarage (59).

Knowles regards the appearance of the small alien priories as "one of the most unfortunate by-products of the Conquest in England; save for a few of the larger priories, they served no religious purpose whatever, and were a source of weakness to the house that owned them. In the course of time they became the most considerable of all the elements of spiritual decay in the monastic life of the country" (60).

There is a total of 26 alien cells in the diocese of Lincoln and of these only a small number were conventual houses (61). At the church of

Minster Lovell Mathilda Lovel made her gifts to the monks of Ivry (Eure) on condition that 'semper unus vel duo monachi de supradicte cenobio ibidem Deo deservire valeant' (62). By the mid-twelfth century this practice was thought irregular and the monks of Ivry employed a secular vicar to serve the church at Minster (63). The Liber Antiquus of Hugh of Wells records the ordination of a vicarage between 1209 and 1235 (64).

In one case the parson of Everdon (Northants.), Elias was presented by Ranulph de Everdon who farmed the manor of Everdon which he held for life from the Abbot and Convent of Bernay. The monks were to receive a pension of 20s. (65). It would appear from Grosseteste's register that the lay farmer had died and that no one had taken his place, as the Abbot and convent of Bernay present to the rectory in 1235 (66). This is not perhaps surprising as Grosseteste made his views on farming of churches known in a letter to John Romanus, subdean of York, written c. 1235 (67). The papal Nuncio, Boetius, had written to Grosseteste asking him to permit Rolandinus, who was the non-residentiary incumbent of Chalgrave in the diocese of Lincoln, to grant him the free disposal of the church. The bishop points out to the subdean that the farming of a church is not a free disposal of the same. He describes it as 'est potius et veracius liberae sponsae Jesu Christi in servilem conditionem redactio'. He appeals to a decision of the provincial Council of Oxford which required that this could only be done for some just reason approved by the bishop, and farmed out to a worthy ordained person on condition that the fruits of the benefice were devoted to good use with the consent of the diocesan (68).

'One worthy person' does not mean 'religious bodies' as they are bound 'per omnia opera sua . . . mundi contemptum praedicare'. By farming of churches they evidently preach the contrary 'to the great danger of religion and at the expense of many souls'. On these grounds he

implored the subdean not to consent.

Many of the so-called monasteries were no more than granges or large farms in monastic ownership and possessed no advowsons or very few. One such seems to have been Newington Longueville which is described as being 'not a true monastery, the monks acting as agents' (69).

All the great families, the Nevilles, Ferrars/de Lascy, de Clares etc. are represented in the registers of the bishops as patrons. Chief among the lay patrons was the king, who nevertheless had the advowson of comparatively few livings in the diocese. King John rewarded his treasurer of Poitou, Geoffrey of Thoars with the church of Finedon (70). North Stoke (71) and Corby (72) were also in his gift as was the church of Langley because 'terre illius ville quam habet in manu sua' (73). John presented William of St. Edward to North Luffenham because those claiming the right of patronage were excommunicated (74). John was chief lord of the fee and presented on the mandate of the papal legate, Gualo.

Henry III, his successor, had the recorded right of presentation to nineteen churches: Stonesfield, North Stoke, Millington Lovel, Oakley, Rockingham, Geddington, Essendon, Langley, Scartho, Grimsby St. Mary, Finedon, Oxford churches of St. Peter in the East, St. Budoc, St. Mary; Sibertoft, Ripton Regis, Hertford St. Andrew, Kelsey St. Nicholas and Bradley (75).

Whenever there was a vacancy in a see, abbey or priory, the king had the right of presentation to any churches of which they possessed the advowson. Thus Henry exercised this right at Peakirk during the vacancy in the abbacy of Peterborough (76) and at Woodston when he had the custody of the Abbey of Thornton (77), and at Cranfield because the Abbey of Ramsey was vacant (78). During the vacancy in the see of Winchester he presented to the parishes of Witney (79) and Ivinghoe (80), as the Bishop of Winchester was their patron.

Occasionally the king had to present to a living because the patronage was in his hands while he held the lands of those who were under age or acted as guardian of an heir until he came of age. The king presented to a mediety of the church of Rowsham because he held the lands of Walter de Pontibus which was of the fee of Robert, Count of Dreux and then in his hands (81).

Similarly, Henry presented Master Roger de Lakok to the church of Washingborough because the lands of the Duke of Brittany were in his hands at the time (82). On other occasions he presented for similar reasons, as guardian of the rights of a minor, to the churches of Walesby (83), Wadenhoe (84) and Overstone (85).

Edward I presented to the church of Gayton-le-Marsh on two occasions during his guardianship of the heir of John de Neville (86). When he was guardian of the lands and heir of Isabella, Countess of Albemarle, Edward presented Peter of Guildford to the vacant church of Crowell. However, this was contested in the King's Court and the judges found in favour of Sir John de St. Elena (or Agatha) who then presented John de Verny (87). When the king's presentation to the church of Dicklington was contested in the court by John Dyve, Edward won his case and was able to present Robert of Ashley, by reason of his custody of the lands and heir of Henry Dyve (88).

On another occasion, however, Edward was unsuccessful in his dispute with the prior and convent of Sixhills in their presentation of Peter of Sixhills to the church of Toft next Newton. Despite his success in the court the prior abandoned his candidate, who then resigned his claim, in favour of the king's candidate, Robert of Harton (89). Evidently, the prior thought it politic to keep in the king's favour. Apart from a dispute with Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, concerning the advowson of the church of Rockingham (90), Edward's other presentations

by reason of his guardianship of lands and heirs, were uncontested (91).

References to presentations made by the queen consorts are few and for the most part they were called upon to present to livings only when they acted as guardians of estates and the heirs thereof. Queen Isabella, the queen dowager, presented Waleran Teutonicus to the church of Manton (92) and at a later date Elias to the same church in her own right (93).

Queen Eleanor, mother of King Edward I, presented to Horkstow, as she was the guardian of the heir and lands of Sir Henry de Percy (94). She won the right to present in an assize of darrein presentment in the Curia Regis. However, at a later date this was reversed on the appeal against the verdict by the Prior of the Knights Hospitallers and the prior's candidate was instituted on January 26, 1285, in the episcopate of Oliver Sutton (95).

The queen's presentations to Benefield (96), Linley (97), Willian (98), and to a portion of Toddington (99) were uncontested. She also had the right to present to the church of Fulbeck by a special concession made to her by John, Earl of Richmond, whereby she had the right to present to the first of the churches in his patronage which should fall vacant (100).

In 1281 King Edward and his Queen Eleanor of Castile made a joint presentation to the church of Great Billing, despite the opposition of Robert Barr who withdrew his claim in the King's Court (101). This is the only record of a joint presentation by both the king and queen in the registers. Edward was particularly fond of his consort, yet only this one joint presentation appears to have been recorded.

The bishops themselves seem rarely to have been possessed of patronage, except in the case of their own manors. The parish churches

in the bishops' gift were Carlton and Nettleham in Lincolnshire; Hambleton (Rutland); Kilsby (Northamptonshire); Asfordby in Leicestershire; Great Paxton and Stilton in Huntingdonshire; Wheathampstead in Hertfordshire; and Fingest and Wooburn in Buckinghamshire. Prebends were also in their gift.

However, the bishops were able to exercise their patronage more extensively under the terms of the third Lateran Council of 1179. Canon 17 of that council stated that if a patron failed to appoint to a vacant benefice within six months of the vacancy, the right of presentation devolved upon the bishop. Often lawsuits between patrons dragged on for longer than six months so that the bishop could exercise his right of collation. Hugh of Wells collated Geoffrey of Rudeham to Checkenden because the dispute between Geoffrey Marriun and the Priory of Coventry had continued for more than six months (102). He collated Thomas de Andely to the church of Appleby while the patronage was in dispute between the prior of Lytham and William de Vermun (103). On winning his case, the prior was allowed to re-present Thomas, who had already been collated. Altogether Bishop Hugh exercised his right of collation on 119 occasions.

The first entry recorded in the register of Bishop Grosseteste is that of a collation to the church of Wold-Newton, 'auctoritate Concilii', with the safeguard 'salvo jure ipsius in posterum, qui jus patronatus evicerit ecclesie supradicte' (104). Three years later the king himself presented to the living (105), possibly because the true patrons (Durham Priory) were awaiting a new prior. Evidently all rights had been safeguarded as in 1267 Durham Priory were the patrons (106). However, in 1277-8 the priory waived its right to present in favour of the Bishop of Durham (107). Bishop Grosseteste collated on 29 occasions 'per lapsum', and all the entries bear the proviso 'auctoritate concilii' or 'auctoritate concilii generalis'. At Brinkhill Richard de Bromholm, a

deacon, was collated 'salvo quilibet jure qui jus patronatus postmodo evicerit in eadem' (108). Shortly afterwards it was found that Sir William Bardolf had the right of presentation, but Richard was allowed to continue as rector (109).

In the year 1272 Bishop Gravesend collated Gilbert of Barton as rector of Greetham of which he was patron (110). During the episcopate of Hugh of Wells the patronage of Greetham had been in the hands of the Abbot and Convent of St. Sever (111), but it would appear to have passed out of their hands sometimes afterwards, as all further references to this parish make it clear that the bishop is patron (112). The entry in Gravesend's register is noteworthy in that it refers to Gilbert's receiving a book ('curam animarum dicte parochie eidem Gilberto per librum tradendo').

Bishop Gravesend collated on 37 occasions, of these nine were 'per lapsum' and three others were by the 'authority of the council' only (113). As the right of patronage had lapsed at Horkstow the bishop took the opportunity of appointing his own clerk, Richard of Rowell, to the benefice (114). When he presented to the church of Clifton, as guardian of the lands and heir of the late Nicholas Peure, he collated John de Authoyl, another of his clerks in his familia (115).

The collation to the church of Hockliffe is described in detail as the patrons, the Master and Hospital of St. John of Hockliffe, endeavoured to present a William Malhert who was deficient in orders and letters ('quem tam propter defectum ordinum quam insufficientiam litterature'). The bishop rejected him and deprived the patrons, the Master and Hospital of St. John of Hockliffe, of the right of presentation on this occasion, and instead collated Master William de Pomerey, professor of canon law, investing him with a book (116). During Oliver Sutton's episcopate the right of patronage had been restored to the original patrons (117).

During the bishop's absence overseas, Master John of Maidstone, archdeacon of Bedford, collated Roger of Stagsden to the church of Fingest, which was in the bishop's patronage. He was admitted on the 29th March 1271 with the duty of serving personally and serving in the order of priesthood (118).

Bishop Oliver Sutton collated on twenty-one occasions; to the parishes of Cranford, Winwick, Parthingstone, St. John, Cranford, Walgrave, Asfordby, Nettleham, Chalfont St. Giles, Twyford of which he was patron, and on eight occasions per lapsum. The church of Cholesbury had lain vacant for two years so the bishop collated Ralph de Chyvele (Chieveley) to the church, saving the right of the patron (119). From Gravesend's register it is evident that the Hospitallers were the patrons and had been lax on this occasion (120).

Sometimes the bishop did not exercise his right to collate, as in the case of the church of Kegworth which had been vacant by the lapse of six months since its commendation to Sir Gilbert of Seagrave (121).

Whereas in Gravesend's register reference has been made to the handing over of a book on two occasions at the institution to a benefice, in Sutton's register we have the solitary reference to an investiture 'by roll' ('per quamdam cedulam') on the collation of William of Stockton to Stoke Doyle (122). It is significant that in the register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1278-94 the more common practice was to hand over a ring (123). There are no such references in the Lincoln records which seems to indicate that the practice was not universal at this time.

NOTES TO PAGES 15-29

- 1 John Godfrey, 'The English Parish 600-1300', London, 1969, pp. 46-7.
- 2 Colin Platt, 'The Parish Churches of Medieval England', London, 1981, p. 9.
- 3 Hugh of Wells, Vols. i, ii and iii.
- 4 The churches were Bardney, Hale, Frisby, Partney, Skendleby, Eddlesborough, Great Steeping, Edlington, Hagworthingham, Lusby, Claypole, Boultham, Sotby, Heckington, Skendelby, and Barton with the chapel of All Saints.
- 5 The churches were Winslow, Grandborough, Little Horwood, Aston Abbots, Turville, Wingrave, Little Kimble and Datchet.
- 6 The V.C.H. Leicester Vol. ii gives all the churches of Leicester (except St. Margaret) and 29 others in the county of Leicester, together with many others in the counties of Buckingham (2), Bedford (1), Northants (3).
- 7 They were Heapham, Frodingham, Pilham, North Luffenham, Hemel Hempstead, North Stoke, Ambrosden, Grendon Underwood, Henley, Horsepath, Britwell Salome (from Grosseteste).
- 8 They were Newbold Verdun, Market Bosworth, Belton, Farnham Royal, Goadby, Lutterworth and Skeffington.
- 9 R. A. Vol. iii. pp. 142-6 especially the note on p. 144; Liber Antiquus p. 28.
- 10 Liber Antiquus p. 77.
- 11 Ibid. p. 76 Probably Kirkby Mallory. The gift of the advowson must have been short-lived as the king's son, Edmund, presented in 1269, Simon de Aneto having renounced his claim. Tevelsford appears to be Thelsford in Warwickshire, a newly founded hospital of Trinitarians founded c. 1214 (Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses pp. 181 and 313.

- 12 Liber Antiquus p. 81.
- 13 Ibid. p. 81. Water Stratford in Buckinghamshire.
- 14 Ibid. p. 86.
- 15 Ibid. pp. 93-4.
- 16 Ibid. p. 94; Hugh of Wells i. p. 97.
- 17 Ibid. p. 94; Hugh of Wells iii. p. 95.
- 18 Ibid. p. 96; Ibid.
- 19 Ibid. pp. 97-8; Ibid.
- 20 V. C. H. Leicestershire Vol. ii. p.27; Gravesend p. 151.
- 21 Wrest Park MS 6, fol. 208.
- 22 C. P. L. i. p. 85.
- 23 Monasticon vi. p. 485; Gravesend p. 55.
- 24 Hugh of Wells ii. p. 313.
- 25 Gravesend p. 159, 165.
- 26 Hugh of Wells i. p.264; Gravesend p.166.
- 27 Grosseteste, Intro. page v; pp. 177, 180, 200, see also pp. 89, 127;
Gravesend pp. 5, 15, 52.
- 28 Grosseteste pp. 2, 13, 41, 52, 342.
- 29 Ibid. p. 344 and p. 298.
- 30 Ibid. pp. 298, 274, 275, 286-7.
- 31 Ibid. p. 481.
- 32 Hugh of Wells i. pp. 19-20. The church is Mavis Enderby
(Lincolnshire).
- 33 Hugh of Wells i. p. 40.
- 34 Ibid. i; p. 18.
- 35 Ibid. i. pp. 69-70.
- 36 Ibid. i. p. 35.
- 37 Ibid. i. p. 54.
- 38 Ibid. i. p. 58.

- 39 Hugh of Wells i. pp. 113-4.
- 40 Ibid. iii. pp. 108-9 'cum etiam impositum eidem M. esset quod multa mala fecerit tempore guerre, et se super hoc coram Archidiaconon purgaret.'
- 41 Epistolae lxxii* p. 228.
'Ad quod respondendum est, quod licet contra justitiam habeantur laici ecclesiarum patroni'.
- 42 Ibid. xi pp. 50-4 (27 March - 3 June 1235).
- 43 Ibid. cxxiv pp. 348-351.
- 44 Ibid. cxxvi.
- 45 Grosseteste p. 212.
- 46 Sir M. Powicke, 'The Thirteenth Century', Oxford 1962, p. 52 Note 1.
- 47 Hugh of Wells ii. p. 18; i. p. 220; iii. pp. 207-8.
- 48 Ibid. ii. p. 18.
- 49 Ibid. i. p. 220.
- 50 Ibid. ii. p. 9.
- 51 Ibid. iii. p. 207; iii. p. 110.
- 52 Ibid. i. pp. 33, 41, 48, 70, 86, 92, 121, 124, 125, 128, 239, 252, 264, 269; ii. pp. 2, 9, 76, 77, 87, 117, 129; iii. pp. 21, 143, 192, 193, 207, 213.
- 53 Ibid. i. pp. 124, 128, 169.
- 54 Ibid. i. p. 125.
- 55 Ibid. i. pp. 239, 252, 264.
- 56 Ibid. ii. p. 2.
- 57 Ibid. iii. p. 192.
- 58 Ibid. loc. sit.
- 59 Gravesend p. 3.
- 60 Dom David Knowles, 'The Monastic Order In England', Cambridge, 1976, p. 136.

- 61 See Appendix 1.
- 62 C. R. R. iv. pp. 260, 305.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Liber Antiquus p. 4.
- 65 Hugh of Wells i. p. 45.
- 66 Grosseteste pp. 60, 235.
- 67 Epistolae xviii. pp. 65-67.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Knowles and Hadcock, 'Medieval Religious Houses', p. 99.
- 70 Hugh of Wells i. p. 104.
- 71 Ibid. i. p. 32.
- 72 Ibid. i. p. 4.
- 73 Ibid. i. p. 7.
- 74 Ibid. i. p. 51.
- 75 Ibid. ii. pp. 13, 24, 35, 60, 105, 110; iii. pp. 44, 45, 191,
Grosseteste pp. 76, 79, 221, 445, 471, 493, 296 (Hertford)
Gravesend pp. 115, 173, 21, 47.
- 76 Grosseteste p. 243, 247.
- 77 Ibid. p. 262.
- 78 Ibid. p. 301.
- 79 Ibid. p. 480.
- 80 Ibid. p. 357.
- 81 Hugh of Wells ii. p. 27.
- 82 Ibid. iii. p. 171.
- 83 Grosseteste p. 90.
- 84 Ibid. p. 212.
- 85 Ibid. p. 205.
- 86 Sutton i. pp. 93, 165.
- 87 Ibid. Oxford Folio 343.

- 88 Sutton. Oxford Folio 343^V
89 Ibid. i. p. 174.
90 Ibid. ii. p. 144.
91 Ibid. i. p. 220 (Algakirk); i. p. 224 (Washingborough);
ii. p. 28 (Wyke Dive); Buckingham Folio 319^V (Waddesdon);
Buckingham Folio 320 (Hardwick); Stow Folio 248^B (Reepham)
and again Stow Folio 253^B; Leicester Folio 280^A (Syston);
Leicester Folio 284^A (Aylestone); Leicester Folio 289^A (Sheepy).
All other presentations were made in his right as patron.
- 92 Hugh of Wells i. pp. 79, 159.
93 Ibid. p. 159.
94 Gravesend p. 80.
95 Sutton i. p. 60.
96 Gravesend p. 133.
97 Ibid. p. 181.
98 Ibid. p. 183.
99 Ibid. p. 204.
100 Sutton i. pp. 36-7.
101 Ibid. ii. pp. 9-10.
102 Hugh of Wells ii. p. 7.
103 Ibid. ii. p. 323.
104 Grosseteste p. 1.
105 Ibid. p. 21.
106 Ibid. p. 95.
107 Gravesend pp. 79, 87.
108 Grosseteste p. 84.
109 Ibid. p. 94.
110 Gravesend p. 10.
111 Hugh of Wells iii. p. 204.

- 112 Gravesend p. 10; Sutton i. pp. 120, 140, 195, 241.
- 113 Ibid. pp. 55, 106, 145.
- 114 Ibid. p. 73.
- 115 Ibid. p. 212.
- 116 Ibid. p. 193.
- 117 Sutton, Bedford Roll, Memb. 3.
- 118 Gravesend p. 247 and note on p. 343.
- 119 Sutton, Buckingham Folio 328^V
- 120 Gravesend p. 256.
- 121 Sutton, Leicester Rolls, Memb. 1.
- 122 Gravesend pp. 10, 193; Sutton ii. p. 7.
- 123 Reg. Johannis Pecham, Cant. & York Soc., pt. ii. p.129.

where the vicar of Sheldwich 'et ipsum ea presentaliter
investiens anulo suo'

p. 131 the vicar of St. Michael's de Paternoster, London
'et eum instituit per anulum suum de eadem'.

p. 133 the rector of Biddenham also receives a ring.

There are many other references.

DISPUTES

Disputes concerning the incumbency of a church frequently involved the issue of patronage, and the registers of the bishops of Lincoln for this century are full of them. Before a valid admission and institution to a benefice could take place several facts had to be ascertained. Not only were the personal qualities of the man presented important but also the true patron of a living had to be proved.

Before any presentation an inquiry or inquest de iure patronatus was held. On receipt of litterae presentationis the bishop issued a mandate to inquire which was generally to the archdeacon of the district within which the church was, or to his official. Either of these might hold the inquest himself or it could be delegated to the rural dean. Ramulph de Kalkewelle, dean of Louth, held such inquiries on seven separate occasions (1). In pursuance of the bishop's mandate, the rural chapter was summoned to the church (2). Often the inquiry concerning the suitability of the presentee was held at the same time.

The articles de iure patronatus covered every aspect of the presentation: whether the church was void and, if so, since what date, and how; who had the right of patronage and whether it was in dispute; whether pensions or other rights existed in the church; and what was the value of the benefice. Early examples of such inquests are found in the register of Hugh of Wells. We find from the record concerning the church of Quinto¹ that it 'vacans fuit et sine controversia, et quod ius patronatus ad dictos Priorem et conventum (St. Andrew, Northampton) sine lite pertinet in eadem, et quod a triginta retro annis et eo amplius de predicta ecclesia annuam dimidie marce pensionem perceperunt (3).

If there was no opposition to the presentation, the bishop was informed that the benefice was vacant and not litigious, and the presentee

was given custody pending admission and institution. Where a dispute arose the claims of the rival parties was investigated and the bishop informed that the church 'litigiosa est' or 'non est sine lite'.

The sequel to an unsatisfactory inquest varied according to the circumstances of the case. Many causes of dispute on presentation did not involve the right of patronage itself, but only affected that right on a particular occasion. Hugh of Wells' register cites the case of a double presentation by one patron. John de Wileweby was placed in charge of the mediety of the church of Wigtoft, on the presentation of Hugh de Wigtoft, after a determination by judges appointed by the Pope, of a suit between John de Wileweby and William, son of Alan of Algakirk, who alleged that he was presented to the same mediety (4).

Disputes concerning patronage were often settled out of court, or an appeal might be withdrawn, as in the case of the church of Brickhill where Geoffrey de Beauchamp, a clerk, was instituted to the church, on the presentation by the noble T. Bassett, after Sir Warin de Vernun and Ada, his wife, who claimed a third part of the church, had renounced their claim (5).

Peter death, presented by the Prior and Convent of Ormesby to the church of Welton after the determination of a suit as to the presentation, was instituted by dispensation of Gualo, the Legate (6).

In Hugh of Wells' register a total of fourteen claimants renounced any rights or claims that they felt they had to a presentation (7). These appear to have been settled out of court. Others availed themselves of the right to have their cases heard in the Curia Regis, since under the terms of the Constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 all disputes of presentation and questions of advowsons were to be decided in the King's Court (De advocacione et praesentatione ecclesiarum si controversia

emerserit inter laicos, vel inter clericos, vel inter laicos et clericos, in curia domini regis tractetur vel terminetur) (8).

There is only one example of a claim to present being settled out of court during Grosseteste's episcopate: the Prior and Convent of Sixhills and Amabilia de Verly renounced for this occasion (pro hac vice) any right which they had in the church of East Barkwith in favour of Sir Robert de Brettevill (9). There are fifteen cases in Gravesend's registers of patrons either withdrawing their presentations or renouncing their claims to present to churches (10). All others resorted to the King's Court. The number of disputes about presentations settled out of court increased to 36 during Oliver Sutton's episcopate (11).

Many of the disputes concerning advowsons were about darrein presentments or last presentations (de ultima presentatione). The principle involved was this: if a church is vacant the person who last presented, or his heir is entitled to present. If any other person conceives that he has a better right, he must bring his action and recover the advowson, but until he has done this it is for the person who last presented, or his heir, to present again (12).

Evidence of the right to present would be provided either in the charters of a grant or in the episcopal letters of institution. Examples of such letters are to be found in the Northampton Charter Roll of 1220 in the register of Hugh of Wells (13). The letters record that on the presentation of the patron (here the name is inserted) our dilectum in Christo filium has been admitted to the same and canonically instituted as persona of the church.

Occasionally there is a double dispute concerning the patronage, as at Great Creton. William de Creton, a sub-deacon, was presented by Hugh de Wichetone, his father, to the church of Great Creton, after

bringing an assize of darrein presentment against Richard de Tokes. At the same time Eve de Creton was summoned by a writ of Quare implet'. The court found in favour of Hugh and his wife Sarah de Wichetone (14).

There was also a double dispute at Aylesbury when Tycot de Lascles questioned in an assize of darrein presentment the right of Campsey Priory to present (15). The court found in favour of the Prioress of Campsey. In a second writ Roger de Lascles (the spelling varies) de placito quare non permittit also lost his appeal (16).

Similarly in 1271 there was a double dispute as to the right of presentation to a mediety of the church of Loverton. In a suit John de Riggebi recovered the advowson against John de Britann' and Robert de Lek' when J. de Britann' allowed the claim of J. de Riggebi and Robert de Lek'. In a second suit Robert de Lek' recovered pro hac vice against John de Riggebi and Robert de Lek', and the clerk was instituted 'ad presentationem eorum' (17).

The case of Little Casterton was equally complex. Although Ralph of Islip had already been instituted to the church of Little Casterton on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of Newstead on November 3rd 1282, it was contested by Sir John of Octon and Alice his wife who presented William of Happingham, a clerk in minor orders. After a dispute between the two claimants to the advowson in the King's Court, a writ of darrein presentment directed the bishop (Oliver Sutton) to accept the candidate of John and Alice. The Prior of Newstead endeavoured to prevent any appointment from being made and produced a writ in common form. A further writ was produced by John and Alice quashing that of the prior and ordering the bishop to accept their candidate. Since Ralph could produce no valid objection to this writ, he was amoved at Louth on July 31st 1283 (18).

The Prior and Convent of Ashby were more fortunate than their brothers of Newstead for in a case concerning the patronage of the church of Thurleigh they were able to show that a charter had been issued to them after William de Glanville had been presented to the living by Hugh de Thurleigh. On William's death the right of presentation was theirs. Nichola, daughter of Bartholomew de Thurleigh, contested that the right of presentation was his. Judgement was given and the 'juratores dicunt quod Willelmus de Glanville' fuit persona ejusdem ecclesie priusquam carta illa fact fuisset vel donum. Ei ideo consideratum est quod prior recuperavit seisinam suam; et habeat breve ad episcopum: et Nichola in misericordia' (19).

In an assize of darrein presentment Thomas de Pavely and his brother Roger recovered the presentation to the church of Willian (Herts.) against the Prior of Evermue in 1240 (20). They lost it five years later to Paul Peyur' on 'recentis litteris regis continentibus quod non obstantibus reclamacionibus Prioris de Wileford, Thome de Pavilly, et Rogeri fratris sui' the bishop is to admit a suitable parson to the church (21).

Disputes over advowsons were for the most part between two lay patrons or between lay patrons and a religious house, but only rarely between two religious houses. Hugh of Wells' register reveals only five occasions when religious houses were in dispute concerning an advowson. However, the dispute between the Prior and Canons of Ashby and the Prioress and nuns of Sandford concerning the church of Puttenham was so protracted that the bishop conferred it on Jordan Warewick per lapsum (22). The Prior and Convent of St. Fromond, after they had recovered the presentation of the church of St. Peter, Stamford, in the King's Court, against the Abbot of Westminster, James Salvagius and

Roger de St. John, presented Stephen de Barbeflet (23). A delay had also been occasioned at Clapton (Northampton) so that the King's Court authorised the bishop to institute on the presentation of the Abbot of Peterborough, notwithstanding the claim of the Prior of St. Neots (24). The right of presentation to Aspley Guise was granted in the King's Court to the Prior and Convent^{of} Newnham after a dispute with the Prior and Convent of Dunstable and Lord Falk de Breauté (25).

Thomas, Master of the Order of Sempringham and Prior of the convent won his case in the King's Court against the Prior of Peterborough. This was followed by a further dispute concerning the same church. Again the prior's opponents, laypeople on this occasion, David Anglicus and his wife Mathilda, Agnes de Walecot, Juwetta de Reppinghal' and Lucia de Iwarby lost their case in a plea quare non permiserunt etc. They conceded the prior's claims in the King's Court and afterwards the prior recuperavit seisinam suam de eadem advocacione in a further appearance in court (26).

Seventy-three cases of disputed patronage were brought before the curia regis during Grosseteste's episcopate of which three cases were brought by contesting religious houses and one by the Bishop of Coventry. Stixwold Priory recovered seisin of the church of Wainfleet St. Mary before the king's judges at Westminster versus Simon, son of Gwido of South Wainfleet and the Abbot of St. Edmund's Convent, Suffolk (27). A presentation to a mediety of the church of Roxby was recovered by Drax Priory against the Prior of Holy Trinity Convent, York (28). In an assize of darrein presentment the Master and Brothers of Hockliffe Hospital won their case to present to Hockliffe Church against the Prior of Dunstable (29). The Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, as guardian of the lands and heir of Ralph Paynel was

successful in an assize of darrein presentment against Holy Trinity Convent, York (30).

Sutton's register contains four instances of religious houses in dispute with each other over the patronage of a parish. The right of presentation to a mediety of Kirkby Laythorpe was disputed by the Prioress and Convent of Grace Dieu on the presentation of the candidate of the Abbot and Convent of Crozden. The case was settled in the abbot's favour (31). At Helmdon the presentation of Master Robert of Lincoln by the Master and brethren of St. John's Hospital, Northampton was disputed by Sir William Turville, the Abbot of Biddlesden and Hugh of Harborough, all of whom presented other candidates. After a trial in the King's Court the bishop was directed by writ to accept the candidate of the master and brethren (32).

At Bottesford a candidate was presented by the Prior and Convent of Thornholm, after winning their case in the King's Court against the claims of the Hospitallers and the Abbot and Convent of Selby (33). However, the Hospitallers were successful against the Abbot and Convent of Woburn and Cecilia, daughter of John le Heyn of Eversholt, in their claim to present to the church of Eversholt (Beds.). (34).

The Prior and Convent of Sixhills seem to have lost confidence in their candidate when presenting to the church of Toft Next Newton (Lincs.). They were opposed by King Edward who presented Robert of Harton. Judgement was given in the King's Court in favour of the prior. However, he abandoned his candidate, Peter who resigned his claim, and he himself presented the king's candidate. (35).

Apart from disputes in the King's Court and out of court concerning the advowsons of churches, the bishops also had to deal with disputes concerning the possession of tithes, pensions, the rights of

collation, the setting up of private chapels and papal provisions.

One of the earliest disputes concerning tithes is given in the *Liber Antiquus* of Hugh of Wells (36) where Robert of Preston, rector of the church of Tingwick said that the manse and two virgates of land claimed by the Abbot and monks of St. Katherine, in Rouen, together with the tithes of the ancient demesne of the abbot and monks and three marks imposed as a pension was contrary to the statutes of the Lateran Council (37).

It was resolved that the abbey would retain their customary demesne tithes and that Robert and his successors were to pay 5s. a year to the abbot and convent as a perpetual beneficium. Robert and his successors were allowed to possess the manse and the two virgates of land (38).

A similar case concerning the payment of tithes is dealt with at length in the *Registrum Antiquissimum*: the rectors of Althorpe and Bottesford were in dispute about the tithes of part of the village of Burringham in the fee of Ashby. Evidently one of the parish priests had been wrongfully burying parishioners from that part of the parish and also admitting them to the sacraments of the church, and claiming the legacies and dues from them to the prejudice of the church of Bottesford. On this occasion the bishop (Hugh of Wells) with the agreement of the two rectors, Adam of Althorpe and Oliver of Bottesford, and the patrons was able to resolve the dispute. It was agreed that the small tithes and half the tithe of sheaves of the disputed area shall belong to the church of Bottesford, and the church of Althorpe shall receive the other half of the tithe of sheaves, and shall retain the oblations of the parishioners of the disputed area, and they shall be admitted to the sacraments and to burial. This was agreed on March 12th 1223 (39). The bishop also settled a further dispute

concerning the church of Weldon and its payment of tithes to the patrons, the Prior and Convent of Launde (40).

Bishop Grosseteste's disputes were largely to do with the qualities and rights of those presented to churches within his diocese and will form the subject of a later chapter. However, one of the earliest disputes in his episcopate concerned the rights of the rector of Horncastle over the church of West Ashby and its rector Frarius. The matter was settled by the Dean, Precentor, and Sub-dean of Salisbury as Papal legates. It was agreed that G. and his successors in the church of Horncastle should have full rights (pleno jure) in the church of West Ashby, but for the sake of peace and harmony they should pay to the said Frarius for his lifetime the sum of 27 marks annually (41).

When the Prior of Wilford could not agree with the rector of Keldingham about the tithes of Keldingham, Bishop Grosseteste intervened and an amicable agreement was reached. The rector, Master Richard of Carew, and his successors were to receive all the tithes of the church aforesaid, except 19s. and 6d. which the said Prior of Wilford and his successors were accustomed to receive from the lords of Keldingham, and he and his successors are to pay to the Prior of Wilford and his successors 60s. annually (42).

In the episcopate of Richard Gravesend there appears to have been some bad feeling between the canons of Dunstable and the bishop. On February 3rd 1274-5 when Gravesend was at Fingest and in ill health the house was visited by his nephew, Richard, as his commissary. Evidently his report was unfavourable, for in 1275 the bishop came himself. In 1277 he deprived the prior and convent of their lease of the fruits of the church of Liddington, which he put under sequestration and appointed a new rector.

The chronicler writes: 'Eodem anno (i.e. 1277) facto magno apparatu, coepimus intrare fructus ecclesiae de Lithlingthone, quos tunc ad firmam habeamus: inde supra. Et dominus Ricardus, episcopus Lincolniensis, inde nos ejecit, et tradidit custodiam dictae ecclesiae Waltero de Stowe, clerico suo: eo quod Paganus, rector illius, mortuus dicebatur, Procurator dicti Pagani nullum super hoc remedium nobis fecit. Eodem tempore magister Walterus de Ba praesentatus est ad eandem, sicut ad vacantem: et sic omnes fructus perdidimus ipse anno.' (43).

On the whole Gravesend's relations with the dean and chapter were cordial and his episcopate seems to have been free of disputes concerning him and patronage. There were, as has been shown, the usual disputes between patrons for advowsons, and these were either settled out of court or in the King's Court.

Bishop Oliver Sutton appointed commissaries (the Subdean and the Archdeacon of Bedford) to investigate the claims of two disputants, William of Greendale and Peter of Chichester, who both claimed to have been presented to the church of Anderby. It was found that William had the greater claim and he was accordingly instituted (44).

Among the numerous disputes during Sutton's episcopate four are commented on. The presentation of Robert of Sudbury to the vacant church of Coates (Northants.) by Sir Andrew of Astley was disputed by the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, on the grounds that Sir Andrew had the right only to nominate the candidate while the monks actually presented him. After litigation, a royal writ decided in favour of the monks and Robert of Sudbury was duly presented by them and instituted at Louth on July 3rd 1286 (45).

The second case is an example of the insecurity of the clergy. On the death of William, rector of Haselbech, Richard of Dutton and Isabel his wife presented William of Swillington. The presentation was

disputed by two laymen, Sir Robert Delisle, who presented Ralph de La Kernere, and by William Burdet of Lowesby who presented first Peter Rabaz and then John of Ibstock. After some litigation, Robert and William withdrew their claims by letters patent. Richard and Isabel of Sutton then changed their minds and presented William of Asfordby in place of William of Swillington. He was in minor orders and so was given custody until he could be ordained subdeacon and instituted at Hertford on September 18th, 1288. (46).

The case was not unique as Lady Eustacia de Fancourt, acting as guardian of Edmund heir of Sir Thomas de Normanville, and of the manor of Normanton, first presented Reginald of Harby, but later changed her mind and presented John of Shirburn. The presentation had been disputed by three opponents, Sir Gilbert d'Umfraville and Sir Robert of Basing, and by Lady Alice of Everingham, widow of Sir Thomas de Normanville who withdrew their claims by letters patent (47).

The fourth case is equally complex. When the church of Gedney fell vacant by the death of John de Curiate, the Abbot and Convent of Crowland presented John Pykard, priest. The presentation was disputed by Sir Robert de Ros, and Erneburga his wife, Sir Robert Le Burgilun, Robert, son of Simon Constable, and Sir Eustace de La Hacche, who presented other candidates. The case went to the King's Court and a writ, following an assize of darrein presentment, dated October 9, 1299, directed the Bishop to accept the candidate of Robert de Ros and Erneburga. John Pykard, who had brought the writ, then appeared before the Bishop bearing letters in which Robert de Ros revoked his presentation of William Constable in favour of the said John Pykard. William Constable also sent letters of resignation. John Pykard, the candidate of the

Abbot and Convent of Crowland, was thus instituted to Gedney, even though he and they had originally lost their case (48).

NOTES TO PAGES 36-47

- 1 Hugh of Wells, vol. i. pp. 18, 19, 26, 57, 64, 132, 136.
- 2 C.R.R. iv. 9, 'convocavit clericos'; C.R.R. vii. 135 'facta inquisitione per capitulum loci'. c.f. J. W. Gray, *The Ius Praesentandi in England from the Constitutions of Clarendon to Bacton*, (E. H. R. No. cclxv. Oct. 1952), *ff.* 492-3.
- 3 Hugh of Wells, i. pp. 9-10 and 11, Cumberworth.
- 4 Ibid. i. pp. 11-12.
- 5 Ibid. i. p. 101.
- 6 Ibid. i. p. 120.
- 7 Ibid. i. pp. 51, 97, 101, 139, 144; ii. pp. 66, 67, 76, 79, 99, 101, 102; iii. pp. 6, 154.
- 8 'Stubbs Select Charters' (ed. H. W. C. Davis), Oxford, 9th Edition, 1960, p. 164, Cap. i.
- 9 Grosseteste, p. 54.
- 10 Gravesend, pp. 19, 43, 79, 81, 86, 104, 139, 144, 145, 149, 191, 195, 224, 227, 228.
- 11 Oliver Sutton i. pp. 5, 13, 22, 58, 59, 90, 91, 111, 162, 164-6, 186-8, 201, 206, 207, 211, 228, 229, 235; ii. pp. 24, 31, 64, 65, 71, 85, 95, 133, 134, 136, 140.
Leicester Rolls, Memb. 1. (N. Kilworth),
Leicester Folio, 283^B (Arnesby). Sir Alan of Elms did not pursue his opposition;
Leicester Folio, 289^B (Galby); Huntingdon Fol. 294 (Walkern);
Bedford Folio 306^V (Eversholt); 309 (Carlton); 309^V (Shilton);
312^V (Wilden); Oxford Folio 348 (Bix Gibwyn).
- 12 F. W. Maitland, 'Forms of Action at Common Law', p. 26.
- 13 Hugh of Wells, ii. pp. 183-4.
- 14 Ibid. ii. p. 132.
- 15 Grosseteste, p. 31.

- 16 Grosseteste p. 31.
- 17 Gravesend p. 50.
- 18 Sutton ii. pp. 25, 34-36.
- 19 C. R. R. iii. p. 28, No. 122.
- 20 Grosseteste pp. 267-9.
- 21 Ibid. p. 289.
- 22 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 44.
- 23 Ibid. i. p. 139.
- 24 Ibid. i. p. 160.
- 25 Ibid. iii. p. 8.
- 26 Ibid. iii. pp. 186-7. 26a 920s. 18, 19, 29, 31(64), 44, 48, 50, 52(hi), 65, 78, 97, 98, 116, 123, 125-6, 133, 134, 141, 142, 145, 149, 158, 160, 168, 171, 178(hi), 193, 196, 202, 203, 204, 212, 225, 246, 288, 249, 263, 268, 290, 297, 311, 321, 326(hi), 329, 335, 337, 338, 344, 354(hi), 355, 373, 377, 378, 396, 406, 408, 421, 432, 457, 458, 463, 477, 483, 491.
- 27 Grosseteste p. 128.
- 28 Ibid. p. 144.
- 29 Ibid. p. 329.
- 30 Ibid. p. 142.
- 31 Sutton i. p. 30.
- 32 Ibid. ii. p. 28.
- 33 Ibid. Stow Folio 246^A.
- 34 Ibid. Bedford Folio 306^V, 307.
- 35 Ibid. i. pp. 174-5.
- 36 L. A., p. 104.
- 37 English Historical Documents, iii. p. 658, No. 32.
- 38 L. A. p. 104.
- 39 R. A. ii. p. 215, add. charter No. 513.
- 40 Hugh of Wells, ii. pp. 212-3.
- 41 Grosseteste p. 39.
- 42 Ibid. p. 85.
- 43 Annales Monastici iii. p. 276.

- 43 a *Gravner* 4, 7, 10, 19, 38 (bin), 42, 43, 46, 50, 52, 53, 59 (bin),
67, 68, 79, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 95, 99, 100, 101 (bin),
102, 104, 105, 108, 109, 116, 118, 120, 121 (bin)
44 Sutton, i. pp. 241-4. 122, 126, 127 (bin), 127, 133 (bin), 155 (bin),
139, 142, 144 (bin), 145 (bin) 146, 149 (bin),
45 Ibid. ii. pp. 55-6. 152, 153 (bin), 154 (3), 160 (bin),
161, 177, 179, 186, 187, 190, 191,
46 Ibid. ii. p. 67. 193, 195, 197, 198, 200, 203,
219, 220, 24, 223, 224, 225,
47 Ibid. ii. p. 140. 227, 228, 231, 234, 235, 238,
239, 242, 247, 249, 250,
252-3, 254,

THE PARISHES

The parishes in the vast diocese were many and various; a number being divided into medieties or portions. Parishes in the county of Lincoln had been founded 'by one or more landowner who paid for the erection of the building and endowed it with land (glebe) and a house site (toft) for the priest', as Mrs. D. M. Owen has shown (1). Medieties thus came about through the sharing of patronage, sometimes between members of the same family or when there were several manors in a village. If there were only two principal landowners in an area, each might build his own church. Examples of such paired churches are found throughout the thirteenth century: at Bilsby (Holy Trinity and St. Mary) (2), at Binbrook (St. Mary and St. Gabriel) (3), and at Swaby (St. Nicholas and St. Margaret) (4).

The parishes of Cumberworth, Sproxton, Clipstone, Southill, Fulletby, Stainton-le-Vale, Rippingale consisted of three portions each (5). Three parishes consisted of four portions: Hibaldstow, Thorganby and Rowston (6). In the latter church three parts belonged to the Knights Templar and of the fourth the rector was W. de Brancewell (7). During Grosseteste's episcopate the fourth part was collated to Richard de Melton saving the right of anyone, 'qui jus patronatus postmodo evicerit in eadem' (8). The church of Loughborough was divided into five portions: the patron of four parts was Hugh Dispensarius and Philip de Corlingstog' was patron of the fifth (9).

Parishes could be even further fragmented, as the parishes of Anwick and Brocklesby were each divided into six portions (10). Possibly the most preposterous situation was found in the parish of Corby in Lincolnshire which was divided into nine parts. Bishop Hugh of Wells conferred a ninth part of the church on Hugh de Osbourneby and

later, Hilary, a chaplain, was presented to six portions and instituted as vicar (11). Evidently, this was part of the process of consolidation envisaged in the 18th canon of the Council of Oxford in 1222 (12).

Under the terms of the canon churches were not to be divided in future. Consolidation would remove all divisions. It is perhaps significant that all further references to the church of Corby are to three parts (13). In 1284 the nuns of St. Michael's outside Stamford were authorised to appropriate the third part of the church of Corby, of which they already held two parts. The right of patronage had been already granted to them by Sir Gilbert Peche (14).

During Hugh of Wells' episcopate several patrons combined to present to medieties. In one of the earliest rolls of his register, dated before the tenth year of his episcopate, which began in 1209, it is recorded that Richard de Kavenedis was presented by Richard Parlbien and John, son of Benedict and Geoffrey his brother of Wyberton and placed in charge of the medieties of the church of St. Ledger of Wyberton (15). In the same roll the Earl of Chester is recorded as having presented Richard de Wulveia, in agreement with the other patron, Henry, son of Hugh, to the two medieties of Toynton St. Peter (16).

Other consolidations are of a later date and were probably brought about in accord with the Council of Oxford's canon 18. Ralph Camerarius and Robert de Foleville, patrons of two medieties of the church of Rearsby, united to present Thomas Basset to the whole of the church (17). The parish of Burnham and of Wilden also had medieties united under one priest (18). At Branston a mediety on becoming vacant was consolidated with another of the same church held by Master Hugh de Mares (19). In this case the patron of both medieties was the same, the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton, so the consolidation was easily effected. It was also specifically stated that it was 'auctoritate

Concilii Oxonie'.

An arrangement for the union of the two portions of the church of Blyton were made in the following manner. Walter de Scalleby, parson of one mediety, agreed before the bishop that if Master Alexander de Melida, parson of the other mediety, should die before him, the chaplain presented by the Prior and Convent of Thornholm should also have Walter's mediety, except the tithes of sheaves and a house where Walter lived. Walter was to receive from the new rector 2 marks and 40 ^{pe}~~pe~~ annually. If Alexander survived Walter a similar arrangement would obtain. However, his annual pension was to be only 2 marks (20). In 1225 the Prior and Convent of Thornholm presented William de Pennard, chaplain, to the church of Blyton on the death of William; thus the parish was consolidated only two years after the agreement (21).

An amicable arrangement was also made for the church of Wragby. When Ralph de Rowell was presented by William Haunselin to one mediety, and by Gilbert de Arches to the other mediety in the church, it was agreed that in future vacancies they or their heirs would present alternately to both medieties (22).

Sometimes the bishop himself was able to consolidate a benefice when collating per lapsum, as in the case of Eyworth. Hugh of Wells had instituted Benedict of Nettletone to the church. After a dispute regarding the patronage had been settled, the Prioress and Convent of St. Helen's, London, the patrons of one mediety, and Thomas Gravenel and his wife Joan, patrons of the other mediety, presented both medieties to Benedict (23).

The policy of consolidation was continued by Bishop Cresseteste, for early in his episcopate he instituted Gilbert de Jakel' to both medieties of the church of Welbourn, as the record puts it: 'et in tota ecclesia canonice rector institutus' (24). Robert of Hyntleham was

instituted vicar of Aunsby, in lay patronage, except for 5 marks 'nomine partis persolvendis ab eo cui dominus Episcopus ipsas duxerit assignandas' (25). Shortly afterwards Robert was instituted to a parsonage of 5 marks in the church which had been consolidated with the said vicarage (26). Two medieties were also consolidated at Stubton (27) and at Navenby (28). However, when an attempt was made to unite two medieties of the prebendal church of Stoke, the petition was rejected (29).

At Radcliffe the vicar, Hugh, was granted a pension of 50s. for as long as he lives. On his death the rectory and the 50s. are to be consolidated in perpetuity (30). Similarly, at Grendon Underwood the vicar, John, was instituted to the newly-consolidated rectory (31). When the vicarage in the church of Whitwick was consolidated with the rectory the vicar, William de Schauwell, was to receive 10 marks annually as a simple benefice, for as long as he lives in habitu seculari, et honeste se gesserit et aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum non habuerit (32).

At Bytham one portion had been consolidated with another because they were poor (cum exiles sint eedem portiones) (33). On the demise or departure of the vicar of Yaxley the rectory and vicarage were consolidated (34), and his successor, Nigel, was instituted rector of the consolidated church. The rectories were also consolidated with the vicarages at Stibbington, Walton on the Wold, Lillingstone and Haseley (35).

The number of consolidations during Gravesend's episcopate were comparatively few. A reference is made in the institution to Somersham to the consolidation of the vicarage with the rector (et consolidata fuit vicaria que dudum fuerat in ipsa ecclesia rectorie ejusdem, precipue cum dictus Magister R. tunc in ea institutus paratus esset in dicta ecclesia personaliter in proximo residere) (36). Consolidations were also

effected in Irby and Pitstone (37), but not at Beachampton, where it was opposed. The record reads: 'salva magistro J. de Bissemede rectori alterius medietatis qui pro consolidatione ecclesie se tunc opponebat accione sua cum sibi viderit expedire proponenda' (38).

This reluctance to unite medieties when the opportunity presented itself may be seen in Oliver Sutton's episcopate. At East Keal there were vacancies in two medieties at the same time, thus providing an opportunity to consolidate them. However, the patrons of one, the Prior and Convent of Spalding, presented one rector; the patrons of the other mediety, the Knights Templar, presented another rector. Both presentees were ordained subdeacon and instituted at Huntingdon on December 17th 1295 (39). As we have already seen, at Corby matters were improved with the nuns of St. Michael's outside Stamford being allowed to hold three parts of the church (40).

At Stickford the future claims of patrons were safeguarded when two medieties were united. Hamund of Boulogne, the patron of one mediety, presented the rector of the other mediety, of whom the patrons were the Prior and Convent of Markby (41). This enlightened attitude may also be seen in the union of two poor parishes: St. Edward and St. Frideswide, Oxford. The common patrons, the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide and the parishioners agreed to do this. St. Edward's was designated the parish church so that the peace and quiet of the conventual church of St. Frideswide may be preserved (42).

At Heyford the rector of one mediety was given a commission to take charge of the other mediety, as a temporary measure, because Master William of Dunham, the rector thereof was incurably ill (43). At Tackley the initiative for the consolidation of the rectory with the vicarage was taken by the rector, Master Roger. The vicarage had been

resigned by Nicholas who had been preferred to the church of *Westcott* thus creating the vacancy (44). From Gravesend's register it appears that the patrons were laymen, as William le Pouere and Walter de Ernle had recovered the advowson against the Prioress and Convent of Studley by an assize of darrein presentment taken in the King's Court (45).

On the whole the laity seemed to be more amenable to change. The religious houses who held the advowsons of several medieties in a church were happy to effect a union; but where several orders were involved portions and medieties were jealously guarded. Ripplingale, which was divided into three portions in Hugh of Wells episcopate, was still so divided in Sutton's episcopate. The patrons of two parts were the Prior and Convent of Shelford and of the third a layman, Sir John of Ripplingale (46). Brocklesby still consisted of six portions in Gravesend's episcopate (47, so it would seem that the process of consolidation was a slow one.

Another problem which bedevilled the thirteenth century, and indeed the whole of the Middle Ages, was the system of holding churches in plurality. The Fourth Lateran Council had sought to remedy that in Canon 29 which endorsed an earlier enactment of the Third Lateran Council of 1179. It read as follows: 'We ordain by the present decree that whoever receives a benefice with cure of souls attached, if he already has such a benefice shall automatically be deprived of that and if perchance he tries to keep it let him be deprived of the other one also' (48). A loophole was made in the last sentence of the canon, namely, 'As to men of birth and lettered persons, who should be honoured by greater benefices, they when reason demands it can be dispensed by the apostolic see' (49).

From 1217 presentees were admitted to parishes 'sub pena concilii' if they already held another living. In Hugh of Wells' register we read that W. de Wignetone, a clerk, was instituted to the church of Wigginton, subject to the rule of the council, as he had a benefice of 50 shillings elsewhere (50). Alan Costein, a clerk, was presented by the Prior and Convent of Launde to a mediety of the church of Weldon in Northamptonshire (51). Evidently, he was a favourite of theirs, for he is also presented at a later date to the church of Kettleby. However, he is required to notify the archdeacon that he must take the said mediety of the church of Weldon as vacant into the bishop's hand (52). He undoubtedly did this, as Seman is presented at a later date to the said church of Great Weldon, vacant because Alan Costein had been admitted, under the rule of the Council, to the church of Ab Kettleby (53).

Bishop Grosseteste, while accepting the system of the exploitation of ecclesiastical benefices, yet saw it as one of the root causes of spiritual inefficiency. Particularly in his attitude towards prebends in cathedral chapters was he at variance with his contemporaries. He regarded them as benefices with cure of souls, they as sinecures. Cathedral prebends were much sought after by pluralists and non-residents: but, as we see from his letters, Grosseteste regarded them as no sinecures (54). The papal legate, Cardinal Otto requested Grosseteste to confer a prebend on Atto, his clerk. He refused on the grounds that Atto had no dispensation to hold a cure of souls along with a plurality of benefices. Indeed the bishop himself had at one time held a prebend of this kind together with a parish church, but his conscience had troubled him, and he had sought the Pope's advice. The Pope's reply had been that a prebend of the kind could not be held along with a parish church without such dispensation (55).

The Pope's nephew, Frederick de Lavagna, was also rejected when a canonry at Lincoln was sought. The bishop saw the deprivation of pastoral care as the worst of sins, comparable to the sin of Lucifer and Antichrist and he set out his views in a letter to Master Innocent, the papal notary (56).

Men of birth and lettered persons were honoured by being allowed to hold more than one benefice. Simon de Arderne was instituted to Ab Kettleby rectory on the presentation of Launde Priory in 1237/8 (57). The church of Coleby was also collated to him, as he had a papal dispensation, on the 30th November, 1240 (58). Master Solomon of Dover, on the other hand, who was instituted to Holdenby in 1237/8, seems not to have availed himself of the papal dispensation to hold another benefice, which was recited by Grosseteste at Banbury on the 26th November, 1251 (59). He had become archdeacon of Leicester shortly before the 17th June 1252. Apart from his prebend of St. Margaret, Leicester which was annexed to his office as archdeacon, he appears not to have held another benefice.

In the case of Hugh de Cantilupe, he was allowed to hold Stewkley by dispensation together with two dignities in various churches and 300 pounds in rents (60). Gerard de Weseham held both the vicarage of Long Sutton and the rectory of Fleet, both in the gift of the monks of Castle Acre (61). The record of the institution of Thomas de Verdun to Orton-on-the-Hill clearly states that he is to hold both Orton and the vicarage of Ibstock together (una cum dicta vicaria de Ybestok quam habet et dudum habuit intitulatam in sua perpetuo possidendam) (62).

However, there seems to be some doubt about the church of Shipton-on-Cherwell as William de Greywil' has another benefice commended to him in another diocese. The marginal note reads: 'Dubitatur de hac institutione' (63).

At Barnwell William de Kirkeham has his dispensation inspected before his institution (64), as has Robert de Witten' who held the church of Fillingham at his institution to Wicken (inspecta prius dispensatione qua similiter institutus est in ecclesia de Fillingham) (65). Ralph of Leicester also has a dispensation from the pope to hold Irnham (66) as has Master Roland, 'domini Pape capellanus et medicus', to hold Tathwell (67). Other dispensations were granted to Henry Costard, Roger of Haverhill, Nicholas of St. Albans, Stephen de Holewell (68).

Remigius of Pocklington had letters of institution to Ab Kettleby rectory, on the presentation of Launde Priory, dated 6th April 1237, and on the same day letters to receive Medbourne rectory in commendam, on the presentation of Owston Abbey (69). He must have vacated Ab Kettleby by the 13th June 1238 when Simon de Arderne was instituted to it (70).

The system of allowing clergy to hold more than one benefice with cure of souls continued throughout Gravesend's episcopate, although papal dispensation is not always mentioned: Master Geoffrey is allowed to hold the church of Wainfleet with the church of St. Nicholas, Little Bowden 'by a title of commendation' (71). Albinus, however, who was instituted to Trusthorpe, is allowed to retain the church of Ketsby with papal permission (72). Shortly afterwards he resigned it for Ormsby. The record contains the interesting note, 'an inquisition was first made by R. archdeacon of Lincoln,' and because it did not shew whether the benefice was vacant, the rector's death was proved before the bishop's clerks (73). John of St. Maria, presented to Halton, exhibited a privilege from Pope Urban IV allowing him to hold two churches besides the two churches which he already had (74).

Master William de Nowerk was instituted to the church of Stapleford on the 27th October 1270. On the dorse is the memorandum

that on the 27th February 1274 at Fingest the bishop commended to W. de Newerk, rector of Stapleford, the church of Pytchley (Northants.), granting him permission to hold both benefices (75). It is also noted in the Northampton roll, with the addition of the words 'because of his knowledge of literature' (76).

Master Stephen de Glaston obtained a dispensation from the apostolic see that besides the two benefices with cure of souls he would lawfully be allowed to accept a third with cure of souls (77). However, in contrast, Master John, who had been instituted to the church of Great Horwood (Bucks.) having the cure of souls, had to resign his living of Oakley (Bucks.) because he had no dispensation to receive more benefices (78).

Master William de Thornton, rector of Little Horton in the diocese of Canterbury, and naturally described as 'dilecto clerico nostro', is allowed to retain the benefice together with Woburn (Beds.) commended to him by the bishop, as patron, by papal authority (79). He later became the bishop's chancellor. (80).

Sometimes churches were held in plurality because the total value was poor. For example, John who was rector of Dalderby was commended to the church of Heather (Leicester), 'as it does not exceed the value of five marks it may be held with the church of Dalderby', with the 'proviso quod ecclesie predictae debitis defraudentur obsequiis et animarum cura in eis non negligatur, set per ministros idoneos deserviat eadem' (81). Similarly, Walter of Amersham who is also rector of St. Thomas, Winchelsea which is a poor church, is allowed to hold the church of Shalston (Bucks.), valued at six marks (82). The treatment was not uniform, as Adam, vicar of Saxilby (Lincs.) is allowed by papal dispensation to hold a second benefice, Autby (Lincs.), with cure of souls (83). Although the papal dispensation contains the words 'non obstante constitucione super hoc edita in concilio generali', it is

granted with the usual proviso that the cure of souls is not neglected etc. (84).

Oliver Sutton's register reveals a number of instances of papal permission to hold benefices in plurality. One of the earliest references to such dispensations and a glaring example of the misuse of papal authority may be seen in the two dispensations granted to Master John of Creacombe, Archdeacon of the East Riding in Yorkshire. Pope Honorius IV granted him a dispensation to hold in plurality the church of Burton-on-Trent and the Archdeaconry of the East Riding with a canonry and prebend in the cathedral of York, dated February 22 1286. In addition he was granted a further dispensation to hold in plurality another church. He was, accordingly, presented by the Prior and Convent of Bridlington (Yorks.) to one of their churches in the diocese of Lincoln, namely Goxhill, and he was duly instituted on May 17th 1288 at Fingest (85).

The notorious pluralist, Bogo de Clare, on the presentation of the Earl of Gloucester, obtained a dispensation to hold the church of Whiston (Northants.) in plurality with the churches of Callan (Co. Kilkenny), Leverington, Chieveley and Simonburn, and to draw revenues in addition from the churches of Thatcham, St. Peter-le-Bailey in Oxford, Kilkhampton, Eynsford, Swanscombe, Dorking, Durnow, Polstead, Saham Toney, Rotherfield, Doncaster, Llansoy (Monmouth), Fordingbridge and Acaster. He was instituted in the person of Master Ralph of Oxford, his proctor, at Stepney on May 23rd 1280 (86).

Archbishop Peckham rebuked him on one occasion in these words: 'We complain . . . that on visiting certain of your churches, or rather, churches held in your name, we found there by the account of many creditable people, that you did not perform the duties of rector, but rather acted as ravisher (raptor) because concerning the carnal goods of the

poor, you minister nothing, or practically nothing to them' (87).

The truth of this is borne out in the household accounts of Bogo de Clare (88).

When these dispensations were granted it was almost always with the proviso that due provision would be made for the cure of souls. Master Thomas, the Archdeacon of Northampton, was granted a papal mandate to hold one other benefice in plurality with the above proviso (89). Dispensations were not always granted, and bishops did not readily agree to institutions without them. Oliver Sutton was cited to appear before the Court of Arches to answer a complaint by John de Berewyk, a clerk of the King, that the bishop had refused to institute him to the church of Amersham. In reply the bishop said that John was reputed to be a pluralist without dispensation and that, when cited, he had refused to give any satisfactory explanation either by himself or by proxy. The bishop therefore appealed, by his proctor Master Robert of Kilworth, to the papal curia against the citation of the Official of Canterbury (90).

Master Henry de Bray held a number of churches in plurality: before the last Council of Lyons he had accepted the parish church of Cottesbach (Leics.) and no other. Afterwards, however, it seems he had custody of Ballykelly (Londonderry), then the church of Woodford Halse (Northampton), then the church of Alverstoke in the diocese of Winchester, and afterwards the church of Nainton (Gloucester or Worcester). His presentation to Woodford Halse was unsuccessfully opposed in the curia regis by Richard Basset (91). Finally, he was instituted to the church of Lutterworth (Leics.) on condition that he would no longer concern himself with the aforesaid churches (92). Evidently, Master Henry was sincere in his intention for we find that the next vacancy to Woodford Halse is caused by his institution to

the church of Lutterworth (93).

Gilbert of Rothbury also held many benefices: the church of ^{Carlton} Carlton in Lincoln diocese, Stainbrook in the diocese of Durham, to which he had been collated, Chistleton in Coventry and Lichfield diocese, and he was also in charge of Laxfield in the diocese of Norwich. After resigning the church of Carlton he was instituted to Shillington, in the person of his proctor (94).

Notwithstanding the bishop's concern about pluralists, a relative, Oliver Sutton, was allowed to hold Edlesborough together with another living with cure of souls (i.e. Churchill in Oxfordshire) (95). Another relative of the bishop, Master Thomas of Sutton, held the post of Archdeacon of Northampton. He acquired a dispensation to hold one other benefice in plurality, in virtue of a mandate of Pope Nicholas IV, provided that due provision were made for the cure of souls (96). On September 11th 1292 the bishop collated his relative, Thomas to the prebend of Thame. However, his induction was resented by the supporters of a rival claimant, Edward St. John, a clerk of the king, who claimed the prebend in virtue of a papal provision from Pope Nicholas IV. This was contested by Bishop Oliver Sutton who declared that the provision was obtained by dishonest means (97). The supporters of Edward St. John seized the church and on November 17th were duly excommunicated by the bishop (98). Despite this Edward St. John's supporters remained in possession of the church. After a colourful series of events Master Thomas was restored to his prebend and a general pardon was issued to all who had been concerned in the killing of a certain Peter of Wyresdale (99).

NOTES TO PAGES 51-63

- 1 D. M. Owen, 'Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire',
Vol. v in History of Lincolnshire, Lincoln, 1981, p. 4.
- 2 Hugh of Wells, iii. pp. 212, 213.
- 3 Ibid. iii. p. 147; Grosseteste p. 41.
- 4 Ibid. iii. p. 124.
- 5 Ibid. i. pp. 57, 267; ii. p. 151; iii. p. 11;
iii. pp. 97, 100, 111.
- 6 Ibid. i. pp. 29, 45, 218; iii. pp. 198, 74.
- 7 Ibid. iii. p. 74.
- 8 Grosseteste p. 78.
- 9 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 253; ii. pp. 299, 306.
- 10 L. A. p. 87; Hugh of Wells, iii. pp. 176, 199.

No further details are available for Anwick; Brocklesby was
still divided into six portions during Gravesend's episcopate,
c.f. Gravesend p. 58.
- 11 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 106; iii. p. 64.
- 12 Councils and Synods, II, Pt. 1, p. 111.
- 13 Grosseteste p. 3; Gravesend p. 81; Sutton, i. pp. 54-5.
- 14 Sutton, i. pp. 54-5.
- 15 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 18.
- 16 Ibid. i. p. 26.
- 17 Ibid. ii. p. 298.
- 18 Ibid. ii. p. 80; iii. p. 5.
- 19 Ibid. iii. p. 159.
- 20 Ibid. i. pp. 218-219.
- 21 Ibid. i. p. 222.
- 22 Ibid. iii. p. 214.
- 23 Ibid. iii. pp. 11, 12.

- 24 Grosseteste p. 27.
- 25 Ibid. p. 63.
- 26 Ibid. p. 67.
- 27 Ibid. p. 69.
- 28 Ibid. p. 99.
- 29 Ibid. pp. 43-44.
- 30 Ibid. p. 351.
- 31 Ibid. p. 355.
- 32 Ibid. p. 422.
- 33 Ibid. p. 85.
- 34 Ibid. p. 295.
- 35 Ibid. pp. 277, 403, 460, 482.
- 36 Gravesend p. 175.
- 37 Ibid. p. 18; p. 238.
- 38 Ibid. p. 254.
- 39 Sutton, i. p. 203 (bis.).
- 40 Ibid. i. pp. 54-5 and supra p. 57.
- 41 Ibid. i. p. 236.
- 42 Ibid. vi. p. 106.
- 43 Ibid. iii. p. 2.
- 44 Ibid. Oxford Folio, 349, 349^V
- 45 Gravesend p. 222 and note on p. 333.
- 46 Sutton i. pp. 14, 45.
- 47 Gravesend p. 58.
- 48 English Historical Documents, vol. iii. pp. 657-8.
- 49 Ibid. iii. p. 658.
- 50 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 65.
- 51 Ibid. i. p. 67.

- 52 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 90.
- 53 Ibid. i. p. 97.
- 54 Epistolae (ed. Luard), Rolls Series, 1861, LXXIV, pp. 241-2.
- 55 Ibid. LXXIV, p. 242, 'qui a domino Papa suscepit in response, licet hic non posset obtinere in litera, quod nequaquam potuimus sine dispensatione praebendam hujusmodi cum parochiali ecclesia simul licite tenere.'
- 56 Ibid. CXXVIII, pp. 432-437.
- 57 Grosseteste p. 400.
- 58 Ibid. pp. 49, 56.
- 59 Ibid. p. 247.
- 60 Ibid. p. 375.
- 61 Ibid. pp. 75, 79. A papal dispensation was granted in February 1243, c.f. C. P. *l.* i, p. 204.
- 62 Grosseteste p. 435.
- 63 Ibid. p. 488.
- 64 Ibid. p. 232.
- 65 Ibid. p. 239.
- 66 Ibid. p. 75.
- 67 Ibid. p. 84.
- 68 Ibid. pp. 117, 229, 297, 336.
- 69 Ibid. pp. 393 (bis), 395 (bis).
- 70 Ibid. p. 401.
- 71 Gravesend p. 38.
- 72 Ibid. p. 60, and the note on p. 281.
- 73 Ibid. p. 61, and the note on p. 282.
- 74 Ibid. p. 95.
- 75 Ibid. p. 43 and the note on p. 274.

- 76 Gravesend p. 124 and the note on p. 301.
- 77 Ibid. p. 226. Chipping Norton.
- 78 Ibid. p. 257.
- 79 Ibid. p. 244 and the note on p. 342 (Wouburn ent. 7).
- 80 Ibid. Introduction p. ~~xxxiv~~.
- 81 Ibid. p. 153 and the note on p. 312.
- 82 Ibid. p. 243.
- 83 Ibid. p. 21.
- 84 Ibid. p. 270 note on Alwaldeby (i.e. Autby).
- 85 Sutton i. pp. 105-107.
- 86 Ibid. ii. pp. 2-3.
- 87 Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, (ed. C. Trice Martin), Rolls Series, 1882, vol. i. pp. 371-2.
- 88 Guiseppi. M.S., 'The Wardrobe and Household Accounts Bogo de Clare; pp.284-6'; Archaeologia, Vol. LXX, 1920, pp. 2-56.
- 89 Sutton iii. p. 197.
- 90 Ibid. iv. pp. 88-9.
- 91 Ibid. ii. pp. 36-7.
- 92 Ibid. Leicester Rolls, memb.1.
- 93 Ibid. ii. p. 72.
- 94 Ibid. Bedford Folio, 312.
- 95 Ibid. Buckingham Folio, 320^V and ii. p. 98 (Aston-le-Walls).
- 96 Ibid. iii. p. 127.
- 97 Ibid. iv. pp. 47-9.
- 98 Ibid. iii. Intro. p. xl; iv. pp. 47-9.
- 99 Ibid. citing C. P. R., 22 Ed. 1, m. 6.

APPROPRIATIONS

Many of the patrons of churches, as has been shown, were monastic houses and when they appropriated a parish church they became its non-resident rector (persona). The appropriating monastery thus acquired for itself the rectory and was itself the Rector Appropriate. Once a deed of appropriation had been granted, sealed by the bishop who granted the rectory to the corporation to their own uses (in proprios usus) the corporate body then had the right to use the endowments of a church for its own needs.

There were two kinds of appropriation, either

- a) cum pleno jure, i.e. an appropriation in temporals and spirituals, or
- b) in temporals only.

Appropriations in temporals was the more common form. The monastery or other religious body (i.e. a cathedral chapter) became rector of the church in regard to endowments subject to a part of these endowments being formed under episcopal authority into a vicarage for the maintenance of a priest to exercise the cure of souls. The latter became a perpetual vicar with security of tenure, as will be shown later.

There were a number of appropriations in the episcopate of Hugh of Wells, listed in the Liber Antiquus and in his rolls. The former records 43 fresh appropriations, although as R. A. R. Hartridge has pointed out it is difficult to sort out the new appropriations from mere confirmations (1). Bampton (2) appropriated to the Dean and Chapter of Exeter Cathedral was of ancient origin. The appropriation of the church of Barnetby le Wold was delayed until the incumbent, Hugh, was dead. In the meantime the patrons the Prior and Convent of Newstead, of the Order of Sempringham are to enjoy the annual payment of four marks from the church and the mediety of tithes of 13 oxgangs of land in

Barnetby and the mediety of the arable land of the church demesne, which is divided into two parts, as their perpetual benefice. On Hugh Derfield's death one mediety of the whole church shall be appropriated to them, the other payments ceasing. To the other mediety they shall present as patrons (3).

The number of churches appropriated varied considerably with each monastic order. Some preferred to retain churches unappropriated in order to attract priests who would be useful to them at court or who perhaps had the bishop's ear. Although the great Benedictine Abbey of Peterborough was patron of 26 churches in the diocese, only two appear to have been appropriated in Hugh of Wells episcopate: St. John the Baptist, Peterborough (4), Maxey (5). St. Peter, Peterborough, was added later (6). John de Burgh who features as signatory in Hugh of Wells registers (7) and as an executor of the bishop's second testament (8) was presented to Oundle by the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough (9). Geoffrey de Moris, one of the bishop's clerks, was presented to the church of Warrington, also in their gift (10), and unappropriated.

Whereas Peterborough appropriated but few of their churches, the Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester appropriated 24 of the churches from their total of 46 of which they were the patrons. Smaller communities also varied in their appropriations of benefices: the Augustinian Canons at Kime in Lincolnshire appropriating six from their total of eleven, i.e., Croft, Calceby, Thorp St. Peter, Swarby, Metheringham, and Osbournby (11).

Eynsham Abbey, a Benedictine foundation, held fourteen churches and appropriated only three, Cassington (12) and Whitfield and South Stoke (13).

In addition to the appropriations referred to in the *Liber Antiquus* a further fifty-three appropriations are recorded in the *Leicester Matriculus*; just under half were appropriated by the abbey of

St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. The church of Croxton which is recorded in the matriculus presents the unusual example of a church divided: one mediety was in the gift of the Abbot of Croxton who appointed a rector. The other mediety was appropriated by the Prior of Melton and had been for thirty years. In addition the Abbot of Eynsham receives 'two garb tithes of the demesne of Henry Foliot from antiquity, which the Prior of Chacombe has for three shillings.' (14).

Bishop Grosseteste uncompromisingly condemned the appropriation of churches and made this clear in his 'sermon' before the General Council of Lyons in 1250 (15). He felt very strongly that the appropriation of churches led to the neglect of pastoral care and that 'where there is an appropriation of parish churches to religious, it is a confirmation and perpetuation of these aforesaid evils' (16), i.e. lack of priestly ministrations to parishioners and to the care of the sick and needy.

Matthew Paris records that in 1245 Bishop Grosseteste removed the church of Aylesbury (Bucks.) from the deanery of Lincoln (17). Although opposed to appropriations in general, Grosseteste made several himself. He gave the church of Fulwell in proprios usus to the Augustinian abbey of Oseney, saving two marks a year to be paid by the said abbot and convent annually on the feast of Blessed Nicholas to be distributed to the poor scholars at Oxford (18). The abbey was to cause the church to be served by idoneum capellanum secularem honeste and were 'to bear all and customary burdens'.

Grosseteste had a long-standing dispute with the abbey of Westminster concerning their wish to appropriate the church of Ashwell which had resulted in the abbot's being excommunicated by him and the church's being laid under an interdict (19). An indulgence of

Pope Honorius III sanctioned the acquisition of the church by the abbey of Westminster for 'the maintenance of the brothers, of guests, and of the poor'. (as sustentationem fratrum et hospitum ac pauperum).

Accordingly the bishop had to carry out the necessary legal requirements granting the abbey full rights in the church. Even so Grosseteste ordained a vicarage valued at 45 marks in the church, almost showing his disapproval of the appropriation (20).

A similar arrangement was made earlier when the Convent of Abingdon, patrons of the church of Cuddesdon, were instituted rectors of the church with the authority of Pope Gregory IX (21). Here again Grosseteste ordained a generous vicarage, valued at 20 marks, and he insisted that the man presented to the vicarage ordained in the church should be found to be suitable or be deprived (et nisi inveniatur idoneus pro voluntate Episcopi vicaria sua privabitur) (22).

Early in his career, bishop Richard Gravesend, in obedience to a papal mandate of 1261 directing him and the bishops of Worcester, Salisbury, Coventry and Llandaff to make a particular enquiry into the appropriation of churches by monastic houses, held a general investigation (23). Further appropriations took place during his episcopate, but vicarages were also ordained as will be seen. The number of appropriations was larger than under Grosseteste, although papal authority was responsible for some of them. In the Calendar of Papal Letters we read (24) of a "grant to the abbot and convent of St. German's, Selby, in the diocese of York, of the parish church of Luddington (Ludyngton) in the diocese of Lincoln, of their patronage, whose value hardly exceeds 25 silver marks, to take effect on its avoidance; without the consent of the bishop and the archdeacon; a vicar's portion being assigned." Gravesend had to complete this in 1261, when the last rector died.

Gravesend probably improved matters at Lissington where the vicar at that time received the whole church but he had to pay a pension of 10 marks to the rectors. He ordered that, "after the vicar's decease, the dean and chapter of York who were the patrons should have the church again according to the form of the Lord William formerly bishop of Lincoln, saving a competent vicarage to be taxed and ordained" (25).

St. Mary's and Holy Trinity, Bilsby were both appropriated on Gravesend's authority because they were the source of 'dissensiones, et scismata,' . These quarrels were over the division of riches between the rector and Markby Priory. They had appropriated Holy Trinity ab antiquo and were also patrons of St. Mary's, Bilsby. In 1269, Gravesend, out of consideration for the deserts of the convent and its nearness to the church, made it easy for the poor of the parish to resort to it for alms, decreed its appropriation (26).

Grimsby Abbey held a quarter of Thorganby Church in proprios usus ab antiquo and Gravesend granted another quarter to them in 1275, as none of the portions exceeded 5 marks in value and there had been many quarrels among the compartitionaries (27). While he could not approve of the system of appropriation, Gravesend probably saw that it was better for the parish that the abbey should hold the church, save the vicarage, than that there should be such a chaotic division. Appropriations were also made in the church of Northleigh to the Abbot and Convent of Hayles in Gloucester (28), in Middleton to the Prior and Convent of Beaulieu (29).

Gravesend's successor, Oliver Sutton, made his views on appropriations known when appropriating the church of Corby to the mans of Stamford in 1284. He confessed that alienations 'and appropriations of parochial churches, by converting the fruits and profits of them to the use of religious persons, were absolutely odious to all the prelates

of the church, and had been forbidden by a late law, nor could be tolerable save in cases of manifest poverty or other great necessity' (30). That poverty and need was clearly evident in the case of the nuns.

Further appropriations were made on the plea of poverty by the patrons (i.e. the religious orders). The Templars were allowed to appropriate the church of Donington on the grounds of the 'immense expense which the enemies of the cross have brought upon this order', (*His igitur necnon gravibus immensisque dispendiis que crucis inimici eidem ordini hactenus intulerunt*) (31).

Appropriation was also effected in Weston to the Prior and Convent of Spalding (32).

Several interesting cases of appropriation were made on behalf of the cathedral. The first was made in 1289 consequent upon Bishop Gravesend's grant to the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln to appropriate the church of Tathwell on the death or resignation of the rector, Master Rolandinus. On his death Bishop Sutton gave letters confirming this right (33).

In the same year the bishop appropriated the church of Ashby Puerorum to the use of the choirboys of the cathedral who were as he said, 'planted as little fruit trees for the honour of God and the adornment of our said church by Richard our predecessor of blessed memory, or who may be so planted hereafter' (34).

The cathedral choir also benefited from the appropriation of the church of St. Bartholomew, Lincoln to the cathedral on the death or resignation of its rector. The site was to be used for the burial of such bodies as would formerly have been buried in the cathedral ground, and the revenues were to be divided between the upkeep of the cathedral choir and the repair of the fabric of St. Bartholomew's. (35).

A Bull of Boniface VIII allowed the Hospitallers to appropriate the churches of Kirton near Boston and Horkstow when these should fall vacant, without reference to the bishop (given at the Lateran, March 23, 1299) (36). Nine other appropriations are recorded as having been made by Oliver Sutton of which two confirmed the grants made by his predecessor Richard Gravesend (37).

An earlier appropriation, made on November 2, 1294, granted the brothers and scholars of the House of Merton, Oxford, all rights in the church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, on the death of the notorious Bogo de Clare, its last rector (38). In all these cases Sutton ensured that a suitable vicarage was ordained.

NOTES FOR PAGES 68-74

- 1 R. A. R. Hartridge, 'A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages',
(Cambridge 1930), p. 51, note 5.
- 2 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 129; Liber Antiquus p. 4.
- 3 Ibid. i. p. 149-150; Ibid. p. 96.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 209; Ibid. p. 31.
- 5 Ibid. i. p. 90; Ibid. p. 31.
- 6 Gravesend p. 105.
- 7 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 238, (Hargrave).
- 8 Registrum Antiquissimum, ii. No. 372 p. 74.
- 9 Hugh of Wells, ii, p. 115.
- 10 Ibid. ii. p. 141.
- 11 Ibid. iii. pp. 70-71; Lib. Ant. pp. 50-51.
- 12 Ibid. i. p. 52.
- 13 Ibid. ii. p. 199; Lib. Ant. p. 3 and Hugh of Wells, ii. pp. 1, 26.
- 14 Ibid. i. p. 256.
- 15 F. S. Stevenson, 'Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln' (London 1899)
pp. 285-289 quoting from Brown's Fasciculus ii. pp. 250-258.
- 16 Ibid. p. 288.
- 17 Matthew Paris, 'Chronica Majora', ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series)
(London, 1872-84) iv. p. 425.
- 18 Grosseteste pp. 461-2.
- 19 W. H. Bliss. Calendar of Entries in Papal Registers relating to
Great Britain and Ireland, (Rolls Series) (London 1893-1921)
vol. i. p. 181; Grosseteste pp. 277-282.
- 20 Grosseteste p. 282.
- 21 Ibid. pp. 454-5.
- 22 Ibid. pp. 463-4.
- 23 Annales Monastici ed. Luard H. R. (Rolls Series, London 1864-9),
vol. iv. pp. 132-3.

- 24 Gravesend p. 89; Cal. Pap. Let. vol. i. p. 331.
- 25 Ibid. p. 35.
- 26 Ibid. p. 37.
- 27 Ibid. p. 66.
- 28 Ibid. p. 187.
- 29 Ibid. p. 202. *Middlaton is Milton Ernest. Beds.*
- 30 Sutton i. pp. 54-55.
- 31 Ibid. i. pp. 75-77.
- 32 Ibid. i. p. 93.
- 33 Ibid. i. pp. 126-9.
- 34 Ibid. i. pp. 129-130.
- 35 Ibid. i. pp. 217-8.
- 36 Ibid. vi. pp. 196-7.
- 37 Ibid. ii. pp. 48-53; ii. p. 89.
- 38 Oxford Folio 342^v.

VII. THE ORDINATION OF VICARAGES

When a monastery appropriated a parish church it became its non-resident rector. It was the bishop's task to see that if a properly qualified rector did not reside in the parish, a second benefice was created in the church, alongside the parsonage, called a vicarage, permanent with a guaranteed income. Thus the vicar would have security of tenure and a fixed income or specified portions of the church's revenues from glebe and tithe and offerings. He was known as a perpetual vicar.

A number of perpetual vicars had been instituted to parishes during the twelfth century. In 1183-4 the churches of Sandon and Ardeley in Hertfordshire and Caddington and Kensworth in Bedfordshire had been appropriated by Walter de Coutances, then bishop of Lincoln, to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. On the death of the present incumbents the dean and chapter are to present to the bishop of Lincoln suitable perpetual vicars and assign to them adequate vicarages (idoneas vicarias) (1).

Other examples of vicarages ordained in the twelfth century may be found in the Liber Antiquus which refer to them as being 'ex dudum' or 'antiquitus ordinata', while the vicarage of St. John the Baptist, Peterborough, is said to have been ordained 'longo tempore talis extitit' (2). Many vicarages regarded as creations of Hugh of Wells may quite possibly have been set up by his predecessors (3).

However, there is no doubt that the pontificate of Hugh of Wells marked a new departure. The impetus for his reforming zeal was provided by Canon 32 of the great Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 which read:

'A vicious custom that ought to be uprooted has established itself in some parts, namely that patrons of parish churches

and certain other persons, claim the incomes from them wholly for themselves, leaving the priests deputed to serve them so small a portion that they cannot fittingly live on it. We have learnt for certain that in some regions parish priests get for their support only a quarter of a quarter, that is a sixteenth, of the tithes. Whence it is that in these regions scarcely any parish priest can be found who has even a modicum of education. As the ox ought not to be muzzled when it treadeth out the corn, and he who serves the altar ought to live from the altar, we decree therefore any custom of a bishop or patron or anyone else notwithstanding, that a sufficient portion shall be assigned to the priests. He who has a parish church shall serve it not by a vicar but personally in the due form which the care of that church requires, unless perchance the parish church is annexed to a prebend or a dignity. In which case we allow that he who has such a prebend or dignity should, as he must serve in a greater church, make it his business to have in the parish church a suitable, canonically instituted perpetual vicar, who, as has been said, shall have a fitting portion from the revenues of that church: otherwise, he shall know that by the authority of this decree he is deprived of that church and it is to be given freely to someone else who is willing and able to do as we have said. What we utterly forbid is that anyone should presume deceitfully to confer from the revenues of a church which has to maintain its own priest a pension on another as it were as a benefice.' (4).

The whole point of this canon which has been described as the 'magna carta' of the parish priest (5) is that a vicar is no mere employee in receipt of wages and removable at will; but a beneficed priest with

his freehold and a specific endowment and instituted by the bishop as a 'perpetual vicar'. Although he may be chosen by the rector with the patron's approval or even by the patron, the bishop commits to him the cura animarum in the church, and it is to the bishop that he is responsible for his cure. He cannot be removed save for crimes or grave dereliction of duty, and then only by judicial procedure, once he has taken legal possession of his church.

Hugh of Wells formally ordained and set down in writing the details of ^{in 1230} three hundred vicarages in his diocese. Although three hundred and seventy-three vicarages are indicated in the *Liber Antiquus*, many entries are incomplete. Another record exists for the archdeaconry of Leicester which was omitted from the *Liber Antiquus* (6).

The basic rule in providing for the vicars in parishes seems to have been that the rector received the tithes of corn and hay and also the land (unless otherwise specified); the vicar had the lesser tithes, the altarage, mortuary dues etc. and had to be provided with a suitable place in which to live.

R. A. R. Hartridge has pointed out that the word 'altarage' can be given no hard and fast meaning (7). The records of Hugh of Wells show that the altarage can consist of the small tithes (i.e. mills, and on every kind of natural production, and on the labours of men) or be mentioned alongside the small tithes as a separate item. For example, the vicar of Rushden in Northants. in 1230 was to receive 'totum altaragium et omnes minutas decimas' (8). Sometimes the tithes of lambs and wool were omitted, as at Aston Clinton (Oxon.) and at Hough (Lincs.) where the first legacy (heriot or mortuary) and the rent of six shillings from one bovat of land, and one meadow belonging to the altarage were also excluded (10).

Often more explicit details are given in the institution to a vicarage, as at Pyrton (Oxon.) where the vicar, 'in addition to receiving the altarage (in omnibus obventionibus altaris de Peritone) and all tithes except garb, and all offerings both of corn and other things at Stanidelf together with half a virgate of land and the adjoining meadow, and also a house at Pyrton, with half a hide of land of the Canons' (of Norton) demesne and a meadow belonging to that land, together with the tithes both of 'husbote et heibote in bosco eorum' (i.e. the privilege of collecting fallen timber for repairing houses, building fences and for burning on the hearth) and in all other common land liberties' (11).

The obventions mentioned in many of the institution rolls varied a great deal. Dues were paid at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and on the Feast Day of the Church. At Bygrave (Herts.) the offerings amounted to 7s. at Christmas, 6s. 8d. at Easter, 1s. on All Saints' Day, 3d. at Candlemas and on the Patronal Festival (St. Margaret's Day) 16s. (12). Whereas at Upton (Bucks.) the total sum for offerings at Christmas, Easter and the chief festivals amounted to 30s. (13). At the church of St. Mary Hertford the vicar received no specified sum at Easter but was allowed to take all that was offered at the first Mass (et obventionem ad primam missam diei Pasche) (14).

Besides the offerings at the Sunday services there were those made from the occasional offices: weddings, churchings of women, and for funerals. Penitents who came to make their confessions were encouraged to make an offering. At St. John the Baptist, Peterborough, the confession pennies (denarii confessionum) were estimated to be 22 shillings a year (15). In addition to money offerings the clergy were accustomed to receive a number of oblations in kind. The eulogia or bread offered

at the altar, some of which was used in the service, the rest being for the use of the priest, was part of the oblations (16). The gift of wax or candles was also included in the oblations. At High Wycombe the vicars were accustomed to receive 'omni oblatione candele per totum annum, preter candelam que provenit die dominica ad altare cum pane benedicendo' (17).

Hugh of Wells endeavoured to ordain vicarages at values not less than 5 marks. His efforts made before 1222 were strengthened when the Council of Oxford (18) declared that the minimum stipend for a perpetual vicar should be 5 marks per year. In one hundred and thirty-four vicarages mentioned in the Liber Antiquus, where the values are given fifty are assessed at less than 5 marks, sixty-three between 5 and 6 marks, and twenty-one over 6 marks.

The list below shows the wide discrepancy between the values of whole churches and the vicarages ordained in them:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Value of Vicarage</u>	<u>Value of Whole Church</u>
Ancaster	5 marks	20 marks
Billingborough	5½ marks	14 marks
Billinghay	5 marks nearly	16 marks
Bracebridge	6 marks	20 marks
Canwick	4 marks or more	20 marks
Digby	4 marks	12 marks
Dorrington	4 marks	12 marks
Kirby-la-Thorpe ^k	4 marks	15 marks
Laughton	4 marks	10 marks
Ludford Magna	6 marks nearly	25 marks
Sixhills	4 marks	12 marks
Stowe or Birthorp	4 marks	15 marks

These figures have been obtained from the Lincoln Archdeaconry ordination of vicarages (19). It is evident that the proportion is that of two to one. Dr. Moorman has pointed out that as the average wage for an artisan was 3d. a day or 78s. a year, a vicar was slightly worse off than this (20).

Where a vicarage was inadequate (i.e. below 5 marks), the bishop endeavoured to augment it. The perpetual vicar of Newbottle under the patronage of the Prior and Convent of Dunstaple is to have the endowments of the vicarage increased if they prove to be insufficient (21). In the church of Barrowby the vicarage is to be at least 100s. (22).

If the Rotulus Taxatio²¹⁵ for the archdeaconry of Leicester is accurate and represents a verus valor then the vicar of the church of Frowlesworth (in the patronage of the Prior and Convent of Chacombe) would find it difficult to provide the pension of 4 marks to be paid to the rector, G. of St. Albans. The valuation given at the time of Henry Lexington was $4\frac{1}{2}$ marks (23).

At Skendleby the bishop so augmented the vicarage that the perpetual vicar, William of London, should receive all the tithes of all the lambs which had previously been received by the Abbot and Convent of Bardney (24).

Grosseteste was equally concerned about the inadequate provision for vicars in some churches and in the case of Whitfield in Northamptonshire in the patronage of Eynsham Abbey re-ordained the vicarage (25). Instead of receiving only 30 measures of wheat, and 2 marks which the rectors have only paid 'with contention, the vicar was now granted the altarage, two virgates of church land, the tithes of mills of the parish, and all tithes, including garb and hay, of

the demesne of the church, and a manse.' (26). The vicarage of Winwick was increased by augmentation of 1 mark to 6 marks (27). The church of Coates under the patronage of Welbeck Abbey are to increase the payment to the vicar by 1 mark (28).

There are many references to the provision of a suitable house (mansum competentem) in a vicarage or where one is not available, is in the case of Shirburn, the vicar is to receive compensation (2s.) until it is provided (29). Such a house was for the most part found near the church, with such descriptions as 'next the church', 'opposite the churchyard gate', 'before the church door' and 'within the churchyard itself' (30). Sometimes the details are more specific as at Eynsham where Bartholomew de Fraxino, vicar, is to have the house 'jacentem inter mansum Ricardi molendinarii de Fauflor et mansum in quo Walterus Gaylone consuevit habitare in villa de Eynesh' (31). From the Liber Antiquus we learn that the vicar of Wroxton is to have a messuage and buildings which are 'iuxta ecclesiam versus occidentem' (32). Whereas the vicarage of Great Kimble consists among other things in 'manso competente eidem vicarie assignato scilicet ex opposite porte cimiterii versus austrum' (33). At Hanborough there is the unusual situation where the former rector exchanges his house for the house of the former vicar who becomes rector (Idem Hugo habebit domos dicti Ricardi quondam vicarii, et dictus Ricardus domos ipsius Hugonis quondam persone ipsius ecclesie) (34).

These houses were often little more than a rough cottage of the type in which peasants were housed. However, there were in some of the richer parishes, better-built houses, similar to the manor houses of the period. At Kingerby (Lincolnshire) William de Fordingey is to have the use of the eastern part of the house which was to be

divided into two, 'from the gable of the solar with the hall and other offices on that side' while the patrons who had appropriated the church, the canons of Elsham 'habebunt partem occidentalem ejusdem mansi cum grangia et aliis domibus in eas positis' (35).

Others were not so fortunate and had to content themselves with losing some of their independence. Where a monastery was situated in or near the same parish as the appropriated church, the vicar received a corrody i.e. provision for maintenance, whereby the vicar took his meals with the monks or other religious. The vicarages appropriated by Osney Abbey in the diocese situated at Oxford, i.e. St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford, Cowley, Foresthill, Kidlington, Hampton-Gay, Weston, Watlington, Hook Norton, Chesterton and Waterperry were all ordained by bishop Hugh of Wells according to a pattern: each vicar was to have 2 marks a year for his clothes, any mortuary up to the value of 6d., and a half of anything beyond that should be his. Among other things he was to be fed at the table of the canons, or else receive food from that monastery (36).

At All Saints, Northampton the vicarage consists in a corrody from the Priory of St. Andrew's, Northampton for himself and his servant who is to have food like one of the more important servants of the convent (quale habet unus major servientum ipsius prioratus)(37). The vicar was allowed to take his meal either in the refectory or in the prior's room, at his choice, or elsewhere, if he prefer it (in refectorio vel in camera Prioris vel alibi, ubi vicarius voluerit, percipiendo)(38).

The patrons of Humberstone who appropriated the church ab antiquo are to provide 'the corrodiess of two monks for the vicar and his deacon' (39). There is a similar ordination at Elsham (40).

The vicar of Loddington seems not to be as fortunate as the above for he is to receive 'a corrody of one canon and 20 shillings' (41). Launde Priory were no more generous to the vicar of Tilton who is to receive the same (42).

The provisions outlined in Grosseteste's Rolls for the vicar of Bourne (43) were continued when Gravesend instituted William de Hacunby on the presentation of Bourne Abbey to the same church in 1274-5 whereby the vicar is 'to eat at the canon's table and his boy is to be treated as the abbot's boy' (44).

Gravesend's great work was the establishment of vicarages in the prebendal churches attached to stalls in his cathedral. Grosseteste had already ordained a vicarage in Louth (45) but reserved the right to ordain a vicarage at Eppingham 'when it shall seem more expedient to do so' (cum viderit expedire consultius facienda) (46). Gravesend made new ordinations in these. At Eppingham in 1263 he ordained that the vicar should have a manse and buildings, the altarage, with the exception of certain small tithes (47). In the same year he ordained the vicarage of Gretton at £16 8s. 6d. (48) and the three churches of St. Mary, Wickford, St. Faith and St. Andrew, Lincoln in the prebend of Gretton served by the same vicar. The three churches were valued at £12 12s. 8d. 'besides small mortuaries and other occasional profits' (49), paying the prebendary 7 marks. In 1267 he ordained a vicarage in the prebendal church of Asgarby at '8 $\frac{1}{2}$ marks plus 3d. and mortuaries' (50).

The vicarage of Thame was ordained in 1273-4 with the right of the bishop to augment it if he saw fit (51). At the beginning of 1277 a large group of prebendal churches was taken in hand, and ordinations were decreed in Biggleswade on 17 February; in Sleaford on 4 March; 8 March in North Kelsey; 10 March, Sutton-with-Buckingham;

16 March, Buckden; 19 March, Leicester St. Margaret's where he changed the ordination at the request of the vicar and prebendary, where he assigned to the vicar the tithes of curtilages instead of 6 marks pension (52). Ordinations were also carried out in the same year at Liddington, Nassington and Corringham (53), Brampton was ordained in October of that year and Binbrook St. Gabriel in 1278. Langford was ordained in November 1278 and Leighton Buzzard at the same time. The ordinations are fairly similar with the vicars receiving the altarage, a toft and a house with the responsibility of providing for assistants, especially in chapels dependent upon the mother church, as at Leighton Buzzard and in the provision of lights in the churches. Details of duties and burdens *will* be given *later*.

Gravesend's work is also seen in his ordination of vicarages appropriated to religious houses, as at Bisbrooke in the patronage of Daventry Priory and Belton (55) belonging to Gracedieu Priory. He was required to complete an ordination in Luddington granted to Selby Abbey in 1256 by the pope, without the consent of the bishop or anyone (56). He ordained a vicarage which he estimated at £9 3s.

Bishop Oliver Sutton carried on the same tradition of ordaining vicarages in appropriated churches. It was left to Bishop Oliver to complete the grant of appropriation made to the Dean and Chapter for Tathwell. On June 13, 1289, he confirmed that right and the ordination of a vicarage with the right to augment it in future if necessary (57).

Earlier in 1286 he had ordained a vicarage in Thorpe Mandeville in accordance with an agreement made by his predecessor (Gravesend) with Daventry Priory. The vicar is to have two parts of the manse and the religious the third part. The value is not given, but a payment of ten pounds to the vicars choral of Lincoln was reserved (58). The value of the vicarage ordained in the church of Harrowden on its

appropriation by Sulby Abbey was 20 marks, well above the average (59). However, the vicar had to provide ministers to serve outlying chapels and pay a proportion of the repairs of the chancel and provide ornaments etc. of the church. Similarly at Ketton the vicar is to receive 20 marks from the newly-ordained vicarage, but he has to provide for suitable persons to serve at Ketton and Tixover (60). On the whole the arrangements made in Oliver Sutton's episcopate appear to be more generous than those of his predecessors for these particular churches.

Oliver Sutton's concern and care for vicars is evident in all his ordinations of vicarages. At Charlbury there was no house available and one has to be provided for him. The presentee has to decide by the Feast of St. Michael whether he wishes to be instituted or not (61). The same concern is seen in his ordinations of vicarages in Charlbury (62) Melton Mowbray (63), Oakley with its chapel of Clopham (64), and the churches of Quarrendon, Buckland, and Stoke Mandeville and Burton in the prebend of Aylesbury were also re-ordained in 1294 (65).

The care and concern for the clergy was equally shown by all the bishops of this century for those who served as vicars in unappropriated rectories. The rectors were usually non-resident and frequently the vicar paid a pension to ^{the}him. This was the case at Buckminster where Geoffrey, the vicar, paid to Baldric, rector, the sum of 6 marks in nomine pensionis. His own security of temore was assured in the words qui totam illam tenebit quoad vixerit (66).

The same safeguard is written in the details of Geoffrey de Helpstone's institution to Helpstone. The patron first gave his consent for the rector to present Geoffrey to the vicarage, and the rector (Walter de Burgh) is to receive 4 marks as a pension (67).

Hugh of Wells made a determined effort to make the vicarages in his diocese conform to the rules laid down at the Council of Oxford in 1222: just as vicars in appropriated churches were to receive as far as possible at least 5 marks, so too were those instituted to vicarages which were unappropriated. Thus we find him reserving a vicarage of 5 marks in Marholme and Achurch (68). Cottesmore vicarage is also valued at 5 marks and the vicar is to have a manse (69). All vicars have of course to be ordained priest and to reside. Thus Silvester who holds the vicarage in the church of Whitchurch is required to be ordained priest at the next ordination (70).

At Bassingham the vicarage was constituted anew at a 100s. with consent of the patron and parson (71). The vicar of Kiddington was less fortunate, for his vicarage was ordained at 4 marks. 'If his vicarage is less than four marks it is to be made up to it by a just valuation' (72).

Grosseteste followed his predecessor's example and at Aunsby the perpetual vicar was to have ^{the} whole church. Five marks was withheld until the presentee had been ordained acolyte (73). Thomas of Nottingham is to have five marks nomine vicarie sue in Covenham (74). The perpetual vicars of King's Cliff, Northborough, Shephall, all receive five marks from their vicarages (75). Numerous other ordinations refer only to the proportion of tithes etc. which is for the most part in the ratio of two to one. The vicarage in Green's Norton is valued at ten marks and is at the top of the scale (76).

The details of the value of unappropriated churches and the vicarages in them are wanting in Gravesend's register; but some idea is given from the details of the emoluments received by a vicar. At

Frodingham (Lincs.) the vicarage consists in the whole altarage and all offerings besides tithes of corn and hay. The vicar is to bear all episcopal and archidiaconal charges and nothing else. The said vicar is presented to the vicarage in the said church 'which is taxed at 15 marks.' (77). The vicarage of Bringhurst was in the patronage of Master John of Maidstone and consisted in the 'toto altaragio' (78).

A more detailed account of the vicarage ordained in the church of Westmill is available. Thomas of Lewinor, the patron gave his consent to its being taxed and ordained, presumably with the agreement of Henry de Bosco, the rector who is listed as patron, since he presented William of Hungerford, the vicar, for institution. The vicar is to have 'tithes of wool and lambs of the whole parish, cheese and the due and customary offerings of the altar of the church and all other lesser tithes and also in tithes of mills and tithes of flax, hemp, geese, piglets, orchards, mortuaries and in all other lesser tithes; also in all the free land belonging to the said church, namely, in 50 acres which with the consent of the patron and the rector of the same church we assign to the vicarage, added to this we apply to the same vicarage the garb of the land formerly of Sir Hugh de Marinis, and the land of Peter Byssol; also we assign to the vicarage a mediety of the tithe of hay, also that area which is opposite the rector's door which contains four acres we assign to the vicarage so that there a suitable manse may be built for the vicar, all of which has been done with the consent and in the name of the rector and patron.' The account continues with the burdens to be borne by both the rector and the vicar (79). This appears to be a generous ordination possibly above the average when taxed and ordained.

The vicarage ordained in St. Peter in the east, Oxford, is equally detailed, and is of interest as the rector was the notorious

pluralist and absentee, Bogo de Clare. Although the vicar appears to be well treated, as he receives the lesser tithes of St. Peter's church and its chapels of Holy Cross, Wolvercote, the hospital of St. John, tithes of mills at Wolvercote estimated at 12 marks. While this may seem generous the said vicar had to provide three chaplains and suitable ministers to serve in the aforesaid churches with their chapels. There is no manse so the said Dom. Bogo has allowed the vicar to forego the payment of 10 marks which Robert the last vicar used to pay him, for the time being (80). The vicar of Tackley is to have a house with its curtilage and croft (81).

Details of emoluments due to vicars of unappropriated churches are largely absent from the registers of Oliver Sutton. However, there is no reason to suppose that he was any the less concerned about the provision for vicars of such churches than his predecessors were. A hint of such concern is evident in the church of Frodingham under the patronage of the Earl of Cornwall (82). Master Henry le Meyer, a deacon, was presented to a perpetual vicarage in the church of Frodingham by the rector, Michael of Northampton. The bishop reserved to himself the power to assign to the vicar a suitable house, 'opposite the said rectory which belongs to the church.'

NOTES TO PAGES 77-90

- 1 Gibbs, M. Early Charters of St. Paul's Cathedral, R. H. S.,
Camden Series iii, Vol. lviii, 1939. pp. 229-30.
- 2 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 209; ii. p. 126.
- 3 Cheney C. R., From Becket to Langton, p.133.
- 4 Douglas D. C., (ed.), English Historical Documents, vol. iii.
1189-1327. pp. 658-9.
- 5 Hartridge, Hist. of Vicarages, p. 21.
- 6 Hugh of Wells, i. pp. 238-272.
- 7 Hartridge, op. cit., p. 37.
- 8 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 234.
- 9 Ibid. ii. p. 90.
- 10 Ibid. iii. p. 73.
- 11 Ibid. ii. pp. 2-3.
- 12 Ibid. iii. p. 40.
- 13 Heales A., Records of Merton Priory, p. 67.
- 14 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 138.
- 15 Ibid. ii. p. 127.
- 16 Liber Antiquus pp. 6, 17, 29, etc.
- 17 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 195.
- 18 Wilkins Concilia Vol. i. p. 587.
- 19 Hugh of Wells, vol. iii. pp. 77-80.
- 20 Moorman Church Life in England in the 13th Century, p.45 note 3.
- 21 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 48-9.
- 22 Ibid. loc. cit.
- 23 Ibid. i. pp. 111-112 and p. 274.
- 24 Ibid. i. p. 132.

- 25 Grossoteste p. 198-9.
- 26 Ibid. op. cit.
- 27 Ibid. pp. 510-11.
- 28 Ibid. p. 152.
- 29 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 177.
- 30 Ibid. i. pp. 177, 179, 195, 205. Liber Ant. p. 36.
- 31 Grosseteste, p. 446.
- 32 Liber Ant. pp. 90, 98.
- 33 Ibid. p. 7.
- 34 Grossoteste, p. 462.
- 35 Gravesend, p. 39., c.f. *M. Wood, The Eng. Medieval House, gives examples of the type pp. 194, 195*
- 36 Hugh of Wells, i. pp. 179-80.
- 37 Ibid. ii. p. 241.
- 38 Ibid. op. cit.
- 39 Liber Ant. p. 43.
- 40 Grosseteste, p. 90.
- 41 Ibid. p. 399.
- 42 Ibid. p. 404.
- 43 Grosseteste, p. 29.
- 44 Gravesend, p. 61.
- 45 Grosseteste, p. 99.
- 46 Ibid. p. 224.
- 47 Gravesend, p. 102.
- 48 Ibid. pp. 102-3.
- 49 Ibid. pp. 15-6.
- 50 Ibid. p. 26.
- 51 Ibid. p. 225.
- 52 Ibid. pp. 209, 272, 274, 254, 184, 159.

- 53 Gravesend, pp. 130, 131, 95.
- 54 Ibid. pp. 185, 82, 232, 211.
- 55 Ibid. pp. 109.
- 56 Ibid. p. 89.
- 57 Sutton 1. pp. 126-9.
- 58 Ibid. ii. pp. 41-53.
- 59 Ibid. ii. pp. 87-90.
- 60 Ibid. ii. pp. 31-3.
- 61 Ibid. Oxford Folio 340^V, 344^V.
- 62 Ibid. 340^V.
- 63 Ibid. Leicester Rolls, membrane 1.
- 64 Ibid. Bedford Folio, 309^V.
- 65 Ibid. Buckingham Folio, 327^V.
- 66 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 289.
- 67 Ibid. ii. pp. 161.
- 68 Ibid. i. p. 5.
- 69 Ibid. ii. p. 244.
- 70 Ibid. i. p. 33.
- 71 Ibid. i. pp. 60-61.
- 72 Ibid. i. p. 42.
- 73 Grosseteste, p. 63.
- 74 Ibid. p. 98.
- 75 Ibid. pp. 181, 192, 263.
- 76 Ibid. p. 183.
- 77 Gravesend, p. 88.
- 78 Ibid. p. 142.
- 79 Ibid. p. 186.
- 80 Ibid. pp. 214-5.
- 81 Gravesend, p. 219.
- 82 Sutton, Stow Roll, Membrane 1.

I am indebted to Dr. D. M. Smith for information on unappropriated vicarages in the time of Hugh of Wells, and acknowledge it with gratitude.

D. M. Smith, The Administration of Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, 1209-35, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1970).

PENSIONS

The rectors and vicars of unappropriated churches frequently had to pay a pension to their monastic patrons. However, it could only be exacted with the authority of the bishop, and it had to be proved that it was 'debita et antiqua'. One of the earliest references to such a pension in the registers of Bishop Hugh of Wells is recorded in the institution of Robert de Manneton who is presented to the church of Edith Weston by the Abbot and Convent of St. George, Baskerville (1). He is to pay an unnamed sum as pension which is debita et antiqua to the abbot and convent. In addition there is a vicarage consisting of the altarage, some land of the church, and a third part of the garb tithe. Master Robert de Gravel, instituted to a mediety of the church of Cranwell, has to pay an annual pension of 60s. to the abbot and convent of Bardney, with the same proviso that it is 'due and ancient' (2).

John of Oxford, presented by the Prior of St. Frideswide, Oxford, to the church of St. Michael's, at Southgate, Oxford, is instructed not to pay a pension to the said prior until it is proved to be due and ancient (3). Similarly, a pension of two marks, claimed by the Abbess of Godstow from the church of Easington, is to be retained in the bishop's hand pending a decision whether it is anciently due (4).

The value of such pensions varied enormously, as may be seen from the Leicester 'matriculus' in the rolls of Bishop Hugh of Wells. The priest at Whetstone paid 40s. to the monks of Lenton (5) while the priest at Foston paid 10s. to the same priory (6). The persona, Nicholas, instituted to the church of Sharnford paid 4 marks to his patron, the Prior of Kirkby (7), whereas William, the incumbent of Barwell paid to his patron, the Abbot of Polesworth, a pension of one mark (8). The parish of Melton Mowbray was better endowed than

most and was valued at 62 marks in 1252 when the valuation was given in the Rotulus Taxationis during the episcopate of Henry Lexington (9). The parson of one mediety was obliged to pay the patron, the Prior of Lewes, 12 marks from antiquity, and the parson of the other mediety paid him 13 marks (10), in the name of pension.

The Leicester Matriculus also reveals that several parishes had to pay an increased pension: Stapleford had to pay to the Prior of Tutbury, the patron, 3 marks instead of 1 lb. of incense (11); Redmile two marks instead of one mark (12), Nether Broughton 30s. instead of 5s. (13).

Occasionally, pensions were increased on the change of incumbent, as at Litchborough where John of Banbury, presented by the Abbot and Convent of St. James, Northampton, has his payment of pension increased from 10s. annually to 20s. (14). From the Liber Antiquus we learn that pensions are to be increased in the churches of Res^{ton}, Toft, Narborough, Clay Coton and Stanton Harcourt. At Res^{ton} the old Pension paid to the Prior and Convent of Worksop was one mark and is to be increased to three marks (15); at Toft the pension is to be doubled to 12 marks to the Prior and Convent of Freiston (16); at Narborough the pension paid to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, is to remain at 12d. during the lifetime of the present incumbent, and on his death is to be increased to 20s. (17). Similarly on the decease of Master Stephen of Manchester the pension of half a mark payable to the same abbot and convent is to be increased to 20s. (18). The Abbot and Convent of Reading are to have their pension increased from 10 marks to 20 marks and the parson, Thomas de Kamel still has to pay all due and customary burdens of the church (19).

From the above increases it would appear that Bishop Hugh of Wells did indeed regard the monasteries as pauperes Christi. On the other hand he safeguarded the rights of incumbents during their lifetime, as has been shown (*supra*).

In a number of cases the vicar had to pay a pension to the rector, as at Clipsham where William pays 100s. to the parson by way of pension (20). The patron was a layman, John de Fraxineto. Both at Sudborough and at Launton in the patronage of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster the perpetual vicars are required to pay a pension to the rector: in the case of Sudborough it is one gold piece, and in Langton 2 marks (21).

The pension, which is due to David de Ermentiers, parson of Kislingbury, from the vicar, Thomas, appears to be to help him pay his way, as he is 'to frequent the schools or lose his benefice'. After Thomas' death David is to have the whole church (22). The vicar of Edlesborough is required to pay the rector a pension of 20 marks, and the patrons of this unappropriated benefice, the Abbot and Convent of Bardney, are to receive two thirds of the demesne tithes (23). Master Aubin is to have the whole church of Wilbarston for as long as he lives, but has to pay 1 mark to Malis, an acolyte, so that he may continue his studies (ita quod scholas frequenter) (24).

The granting of pensions was continued by Hugh of Wells' successor, Robert Grosseteste. Fifty pensions were confirmed or granted to religious houses and sixty to individuals. He seems to have been particularly generous to the weaker brother, whether his frailties lay in his moral character or lack of learning. Gerard de Housthorp and his successors have to pay his predecessor 5 marks: he had resigned church of Wispington because he confessed that he was

married. The patron and the 'dispossessed' bear the same surname, 'de Land', and this may have had a bearing on the granting of a pension (25).

Roger, the former parson of a mediety in the church of East Keal, although married, is also to receive 3 marks yearly, at the hands of Richard de Bekingham, his successor (26). The patrons in this case were the Templars.

The former rectors of the following parishes were all to receive pensions: Horncastle, Grainsby, Brant Broughton, Doddington, Scot Willoughby, Mumby, Kettlethorp, Flixborough, Ravensthorpe, Offley, Radwell (27). The pensions ranged from 2s. in Horncastle to 25 marks in Mumby.

Several pensionaries have evidently been given simple benefices in order to support them during their years of study. This is certainly true of William Pikot who must continue in the habit of a secular 'et privilegio clericali gaudens in addiscendo profecerit' and is to receive 6 marks at the hands of Master Jocius de Lewes rector of Manton (28). Three marks are granted to Robert of Syberton, first presented to Collyweston, rejected for his insufficiency, who is to receive 20s. annually from the rector (29). Similarly the rejected presentee to a mediety in the church of Isham, Geoffrey, is to receive 3 marks annually from the new rector. The usual safeguards are mentioned: ^X
'quoadviserit in habitu seculari et honeste se gesserit, et aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum adeptus non fuerit' (30). William de Sisseverne is also to receive 3 marks per annum, although rejected for illiteracy on being presented to Ayot St. Lawrence (31).

However, perhaps the most generously treated of those first presented to a living, was William de Multon, who is to receive 50 marks at the hands of John Francigena, the rector (32). Significantly, the

patron bears the name Thomas de Multon. In some cases the relationship is defined, as at Somerby-by-Grantham where the son of the patron, William Parisis, a citizen of Lincoln, is to receive an unknown sum in nomine simplicis beneficii (33). At Ashley, Roger, the son of the patron, Peter Peverel, is to have a pension of 5 marks annually (34). The sons of the patrons respectively of Teigh (35) and Harpole (36) are to receive pensions of 5 marks annually. All such pensions were granted with the consent of the patron and the rector.

The reference to a pension being 'due and ancient' occurs frequently in Gravesend's register, but other details found in the registers of Hugh of Wells and Grosseteste are absent from Gravesend. Only four individuals are mentioned as receiving pensions: the former rector of East Keal is to receive 3 marks yearly from his successor (37). Master Henry resigns with a pension from Torksey, although there may be some doubt about this as the special note reads: 'super provisione sibi factam eadem auctoritate apostolica' (38). The church of Ravensthorp was commended to Richard de Tottford, clerk, 'auctoritate pontificali' with the reservation of 'a yearly pension of 10 marks to Adam de Waneting, clerk, for his lifetime' (39). The new rector of Aston Clinton had to pay a pension of 10 marks to Ralph de St. Clare 'ex ordinatione dom. R. Dei gracia Linc' episcopi' (40).

There are thirty references to pensions being paid to religious houses who were patrons in unappropriated churches (41). The pension payable to Thorney Abbey is to go to the sacrist (42) (1 mark from Stibenton Church); while the sum of 1 mark from Broughton is to be paid to the cellarer of Ramsey Abbey (43), and 5 marks from the church of Elton is to go to the sacrist of Ramsey (44). Master Roger de Cava, on the other hand, resigns his claim to a pension of

half a mark from the church of All Saints, Barnwell (45).

In Oliver Sutton's registers there are only seventeen references to pensions being paid to religious houses (46). In addition twenty pounds of silver is due from the parish of Searby for lights in the cathedral (47). However, before a pension of 10 marks is paid to the Abbot and Convent of Bourne from the church of Helpringham of which they are patrons, further evidence is needed, as it seemed a somewhat large amount (48). At Firsby nothing was done about the yearly pension of 10 shillings, mentioned in the inquisition, as the patrons (the Abbot and Convent of Bardney) made no claim to it. However, this did not affect the validity of their right to it (49).

The cathedral is to benefit even more from a generous pension of 40 marks from the church of Gosberton to be paid annually (50). The income from Woodend Chapel is rather more than 2 marks, yet a pension of 1 mark is claimed from it by the Abbot and Convent of Sees (51). The Abbot and Convent of St. James, Northampton, promise to remit a pension of half a mark annually and return the documents relating to the claim in return for a payment of 6 marks sterling to be made by the rector (52) of Farthingstone.

Pensions are paid to comparatively few individuals: Richard of Halton is to receive a pension of 100s. from the church of Mavis Enderby (53). Master Richard of Quadrington who is blind and ill is to receive a pension of 30 marks plus 20 marks to pay his debts (54) from his parish. James, rector of Dalderby, is not so fortunate: he is very ill and is to have a curate and a pension of 30s. which is as much as the church could provide (55).

The sum of 30s., representing arrears of a pension, was claimed by the Abbot and Convent of Eynsham from the executor of the will of the late Master Gilbert of Leicester, late rector of Merton (56).

A modest pension of 40s. is received by John, the last vicar of Thurnby from his successor (57).

The number of pensions, granted to both religious houses and individuals declined through the century. As more and more churches were appropriated so the need for pensions diminished. It is possible that clergy who retired had a place at a nearby monastery and a corrody, or struggled on, relying on assistants to carry out the work in the cura animarum.

NOTES TO PAGES 94-100

- 1 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 2.
- 2 Ibid. op. cit.
- 3 Ibid. ii. p. 11.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 16.
- 5 Ibid. i. p. 239.
- 6 Ibid. op. cit.
- 7 Ibid. i. p. 245.
- 8 Ibid. i. p. 246.
- 9 Ibid. i. p. 277. 'Meuton cum particulis Walt' parve ..xxx marc.
Altera pars ejusdem ecclesie xxxij marc.
- 10 Ibid. i. p. 269.
- 11 Ibid. i. p. 268.
- 12 Ibid. i. p. 270.
- 13 Ibid. op. cit.
- 14 Ibid. ii. p. 110.
- 15 Liber Antiquus, p. 77.
- 16 Ibid. p. 78.
- 17 Ibid. p. 84.
- 18 Ibid. p. 84.
- 19 Ibid. p. 101.
- 20 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 61.
- 21 Ibid. i. p. 3 and p. 70.
- 22 Ibid. i. p. 135.
- 23 Ibid. i. p. 164.
- 24 Ibid. ii. p. 114.
- 25 Grosseteste, p. 28.
- 26 Ibid. p. 44.
- 27 Ibid. pp. 13-4; 30; 47; 77; 100; 116; 142-3; 153; 236; 263; 283.

- 28 Grosseteste, p. 140.
- 29 Ibid. p. 232.
- 30 Ibid. p. 233.
- 31 Ibid. p. 291.
- 32 Ibid. p. 116-7.
- 33 Ibid. p. 59.
- 34 Ibid. p. 177.
- 35 Ibid. p. 187.
- 36 Ibid. p. 205.
- 37 Gravesend, p. 4.
- 38 Ibid. p. 94 and note on p. 291.
- 39 Ibid. p. 297, and notes on p. 112.
- 40 Ibid. p. 248.
- 41 Ibid. pp. 7; 10; 13; 14; 24; 28; 42; 52; 88; 90; 92; 95; 101; 108;
116; 138; (bis); 152; 167; 168; 172; (bis); 175; 177; 190;
213; 216; 223; 224; 249.
The above does not include sums paid to prebendaries.
- 42 Ibid. p. 172.
- 43 Ibid. op. cit.
- 44 Ibid. p. 168.
- 45 Ibid. p. 100.
- 46 Sutton, vol. i. pp. 14; 16; 21; 25; 26; 32; 33; 81;
vol. ii. pp. 9; 14; 19; 24; 25; 27; (bis); 56;
Stow Roll, memb. 2 (Normanby).
- 47 Ibid. vol. i. p. 2 and R. A., iii. pp. 365-6.
- 48 Ibid. i. pp. 23-4.
- 49 Ibid. i. p. 31.
- 50 Ibid. i. p. 202.
- 51 Ibid. ii. p. 56.
- 52 Ibid. iii. p. 54.

- 53 Sutton, vol. i. p. 6.
- 54 Ibid. v. pp. 159-60.
- 55 Ibid. iv. pp. 115-6.
- 56 Ibid. iv. p. 1.
- 57 Ibid. Leicester Folio 281 A.

THE CLERGY

The clergy who feature in the rolls of Hugh of Wells were a mixed bag of people, ranging from the lowly clericus to the fully ordained priest. Usually the status of the presentee to each rectory, vicarage or portion is carefully stated, whether he be 'clericus', 'capellanus', 'acolitus', 'subdiaconus', 'diaconus', 'decanus', 'phisicus', 'medicus' and occasionally 'canonicus'.

The term 'clericus' is used in Hugh of Wells' rolls loosely of men in minor orders, i.e. door-keeper, reader, exorcist and acolyte. Thus Gilbert son of Robert is described as 'clericus' but is ordered to be ordained 'acolitum' at the next ordination (1). Several men or boys were designated 'clerici' and were ordered to attend the schools before proceeding to Holy Orders. These boys had probably received their first tonsure and were known as 'holy-water carriers' or aquebajuli (2). *W de* Quartremares, placed in charge of the church of Orton on the Hill and presented by his father, had a dispensation on account of his youth (3). Similarly, Eustace, who was also under age, had to have a proctor, who would provide him with necessaries while he was still at school (et insi Eustachio de eadem necessaria inveniet in scolis) (4).

Two vicars in the Archdeaconry of Oxford are described as clerici and are instructed to be ordained subdeacon (5). In one instance a rector who was referred to as clericus appears not to have been ordained at all as he is given custody of Bow Brickhill until the next ordination before Michaelmas and 'ut veniat ordinandus' (6).

The word 'capellanus' occurs very frequently in describing a man's orders and is used instead of the more precise term of deacon, priest. Often it is synonymous with the word priest, as Henry de Hoggeshale, described as capellanus, is instituted to the church of

of Addington 'cum onere in eadem ecclesia residendi, et eidem in officio sacerdotali deserviendi' (7). Scribes could be careless about words, as Hugh of Wells' scribe records that Ralph who is a deacon is to serve in a parish (Wendover) 'in officio sacerdotali' (8).

Specific reference to a man's being a priest is very rare (9) in Hugh of Wells. It occurs five times in Grosseteste's register (10). If one assumes that all capellani were in priest's orders, it is found that, out of 248 rectors instituted by Hugh of Wells in the three archdeaconries of Oxford, Buckingham and Stow only 61 or less than a quarter were priests. In Grosseteste's register out of 229 rectors appointed in the archdeaconry of Northampton only 45, or rather less than one in five were priests. While in Bishop Gravesend's register only 16 per cent of rectors were in priests' orders.

The rector was of course regarded as 'the proprietor of his church, absolved from personal conduct of the cure of souls, so long as he exercised it by a deputy, whether, as we have seen, with a stated endowment, legally appointed, or a stipendiary chaplain who acted as parish priest' (11). Occasionally the institution of a rector, like that of a vicar, was made with the special condition of personal residence and service. The rector of St. Mary, Stamford who is a priest is 'to reside and to minister in person' (12). The bishop collated to Master John de Othum, then deacon, the portion which Robert, C, then dead, had in the church of Nettleham, which is of the bishop's patronage, with the burden of ministering in it personally in the order of priesthood (13).

From the year 1275 a special clause was inserted in the deeds of institution to rectories, which became more or less invariable. At the second council of Lyons in 1274 the 'Licet canon' was promulgated

with the intention of enforcing the clauses of an earlier canon, 'Quam in cunctis' of Alexander III which required the rector of a parish church to be at least in his twenty-fifth year at the time of his institution, with satisfactory evidence of his knowledge and morals, and to proceed to priest's orders on penalty of being deprived.

Despite this injunction, rectors instituted after 1274 in Gravesend's episcopate were for the most part subdeacons. Sometimes a man had to resign his living because he had not complied with the ordination requirements, as at Thorpe on the Hill and at Hougham (14). John of Oudenarde who had received custody of the sequestration of Marsh Gibbon, Bucks. in succession to the previous sequestrator, his kinsman Giles, was ordained subdeacon and instituted to the church in February 1275/6. In April 1277, while still subdeacon, he was instituted a second time, probably because he had neglected to be ordained priest (15).

A few of the beneficed clergy who feature in Oliver Sutton's registers were forced to resign because, in defiance of the decree of the Second Council of Lyons, they had neglected to be ordained priests within a year of institution. Roger of Doncaster was not re-presented to a mediety in South Witham (16). Dishley received a new rector because William of Buxton had also failed to be ordained priest within a year (17). The rector of Hulcot was not re-presented (18).

Others were more fortunate and were re-presented not only once but on several occasions. The rector of Halton Holgate, subdeacon, was re-presented on March 17, 1283, and again on January 24, 1289, in the person of Robert de Neville, proctor of the rector's own proctor, Robert of Colton (19). The rectors of Kirkby Laythorpe (20), Theddlethorpe (21), Binbrook (22), were also re-presented on two occasions. The rectors of Wigston (23) and Potter Hanworth (24)

were re-presented on three occasions. However, in the latter's case we read that Oliver d'Eyncourt was re-presented by the Prior and Convent of Thurgarton 'de consilio Episcopi ex cause secreta sibi (sc. Olivero) per eundem Episcopum intimata' (25)

Altogether 65 rectors were required to resign and be re-presented by their patrons. The parish of North Stoke was singularly unfortunate in that Roger (who had resigned because he had not been ordained priest within a year of institution) was succeeded by John of Everdon who also had to be re-presented in 1294 (26). At Swinstead the vicar, Robert of Camel, a deacon, was re-presented by the Prior and Convent of Drax as he had held the church incorrectly, since he had not been ordained priest within a year of his institution. This is the only instance of a vicar being so re-presented.

It is clear from the records of institution of all the bishops of Lincoln for this century that the majority of the parochial clergy were appointed from the locality. Some lived in the area or near their patrons. As A. L. Poole says, 'the parish priest was often of humble birth, poorly educated, and seldom rich. On week days he worked with the peasants' (27).

Others had a much closer link with their patron and were often related to him. It was natural that a patron wished to provide for his own family. Robert Malebise was presented to the church of Mavis Enderby by his father, with the injunction from the bishop that he attend the schools and is examined in letters at the Octave of Easter next. The patron is warned that if he is found to be unsuitable, he is to present another (28).

William de Henred, clerk, was presented by Richard Henred, his brother, to a medeity of the church of Lower Heyford (29). John, the son of Reginald, presented his brother to the church of

East Carlton, but not without a dispute settled in the Curia Regis in his favour (30). Joan of Shenley tried hard to secure the church of Shenley for her son Richard. However, he failed to satisfy the examiners in the schools and had to abandon the living (31). We know this because a year later Joan was again presenting to the parish (32). There are seventeen further instances in Hugh of Wells' registers in which the exact relationship of the presentee to the patron is stated (33).

There are many other instances where the relationship is not stated, but the incumbent and the patron share the same surname. For example the incumbent of Houghton Conquest is John de Beauchamp and the joint patrons are William de Beauchamp and H. de Hotot (34). Robert Butevillein is instituted to the church of Cottesbrooke on the presentation of Robert Butevillein (35). Others bearing the same surname are: Cantilupe, Chednete, Dairel, Dispensarius, Dispensator, Cisnay, Hensard, de la Hose, Malcovenant, Mansel, Monte Alto, Picot, Quatremares, de Scalariis, Scoteigny, Spigurnel, de Tointon, de Torpel, Trussel, Verdun (36).

Relatives continued to provide for their families throughout Grosseteste's episcopate. Henry, son of H. de Hawwill, is presented by his father to Hacconby and is instituted (37). Haco de Mauberthorpe presented his son Thomas to the family living of Mablethorpe. However, he is to be deprived if he does not improve his education within a year (38). Almaricus de Nodariis presented his son Amaricus to Lowick (39). Robert de Harington receives two parts of Fulletby from his father Hugh, but not without a lawsuit in the king's court whereby it was established that Hugh had last presented to the living (40). The Earl of Poitou and Cornwall had no difficulty in presenting his nephew Roger to Frodingham (41).

While in the above examples the relationship is clearly stated, a number share the same patronymic. Thus Roger de Millhey is presented

by Ph. de Millhey and William de Bellesby to Horsington (42). The last rector of Flixborough was Ralph de Arcy whose patron was William de Arcy. He is to receive 10 marks as a simple benefice (43).

Nicholas de Cameys owes his preferment to Pilton because Asceline, the heiress of Pilton, is the wife of Sir Ralph de Cameys (44). There are a further 22 instances where the patron and the presentee share the same surname. Although some of the great names which appear in Hugh of Wells' registers occur in that of Grosseteste only the Cantilupes and the Curtenays appear to have provided for their relatives (45).

The Albiniacons who featured in Hugh of Wells' registers, surface again in Gravesend's rolls when Ralph de Albiniacon is presented to Broughton by his brother John (46). The Spigurnels are also found presenting someone with the family name to Shawell, Leicestershire, again (47) and the Verduns (or Verdon) appear to be keeping the living of Farnham in the family when John de Verdon presents Thomas de Verdon on the resignation of Theobald de Verdon (48). In addition to the above there are four direct references to the presentation of a relative to a church: Simon de Braybof presents his son to Claxby, (Lincs.) (49); Simon of Cransley (Northants.) re-presents his brother Reginald (50); Thomas of Huntingfield is presented to Frampton (Lincs.) by his mother Lady Joan de Huntingfield (51); Adam Paynel is presented to Broughton by Brigg (Lincs.) by Ralph Paynel, his brother (52). As was the case in the episcopates of Hugh of Wells and Grosseteste a number bore the same patronymic.

On the presentation of John le Brun, Thomas de la Lee succeeded his brother William de la Lee, who had resigned (53) from a mediety in the church of Sheepy.

In the registers of Oliver Sutton there are comparatively few references to family presentations, although there is a number of references to presentees and patrons sharing the same surname. Thomas of Halton, formerly presented to Halton Holgate, was brother of Sir Richard, the patron (54). Giles is presented by his father to Pitsford (55), and William son of Sir Thomas de Beggeville is also presented to Pickworth (56), while Richard de Bosco is presented by his brother John de Bosco to the mediety of the Church of Woodford (57). Some names which occurred earlier in the century seem to be absent. The Trussells are found presenting to Lamport when John, a clerk in minor orders, is presented by William (58). Sir William Butevilen presented William to Cottessbrook (59). Custody of Scotton was given to Master Robert of Radcliffe until Robert Nevill, presented by Sir Robert Nevill was of age (60). Interestingly, Sir Robert presented another Nevill, John, also a clerk in minor orders, to Manton on the same day (March 5th, 1288) (61). The Spigurnels, patrons of Clifton, presented Robert Spigurnel to the church; almost certainly a relative (62), and Sir John Neirmut presented Thomas Neirmut to Pitstone (63).

Sir William of Moray, on the resignation of Master David Moray, chose that opportunity to present another fellow Scotsman to the church of Lilford (64).

Others who held the wardship of lands also sought to prefer those who were their kinsmen. In 1223 Walter Russell was presented to Hardwick by John Russell who held the wardship of the lands and heir of James de Novo Mercato and by John de Botrell in right of his wife (65). Hugh Dispensarius is to have a 'parsonage' of two marks and a half in the church of Walton le Wolds on the presentation of *Hugh Dispensarius* ratione custodie terre et heredis Henrici Mallore' (66).

Peter de Clare, a subdeacon is presented by the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, as guardian of the heir of Walter de Trailly, to the church of Yelden (67).

No one appears to have benefited from the tenure of the wardship of lands during Grosseteste's episcopate. However, in Gravesend's register we find Richard de Seyton, guardian of the heir of Simon de Maydewel, taking the opportunity to present Master Roger de Seyton to the church of Maidwell, Northants, in 1262/3 (68). At Wilden the situation was more complex: the late rector Simon guardian of the land and heir of John de Pabeham, the patron of the church, and the executors of his will were Hugh de Schelton, Simon de Bueles and Nicholas the vicar of Renhold (Beds.). These together with Sir Ralph Ridol and Agnes his wife presented Robert de Bueles to the rectory. There would appear to be a link between one of the presenters, Simon and the presentee (69).

Bishop Gravesend himself, as guardian of the lands and heir of the late Nicholas Feure, collated John de Authoyl one of his clerks, to Clifton (70), ~~as~~ has been mentioned.

Although a number of patrons presented to livings in right of their wardship of lands and the heirs of others there is no evidence to show that they endeavoured to benefit any member of their families during the episcopate of Oliver Sutton.

The bishops when collating to livings in their gift, as patrons, or per lapsum often used those occasions to promote members of their own familia. Bishop Hugh of Wells conferred the church of Howell, Lincs., on William of Beningworth. The patron Sir G. de Hole had been excommunicated for siding with the barons against King John. However, his rights were reserved, and later on returning to the unity of the church he confirmed the collation (71). Another member of the

bishop's familia, Richard of Kent, had the church of Whitwell conferred on him by the bishop (72). The following members of his familia or staff were similarly rewarded: Richard of Oxford to Claypole (73); Nicholas of Evesham to Tring (74); Ralph of Warvill to Grainthorpe (75); the latter by the papal legate's dispensation; Richard of Cornay to Munden (76); Oliver de Cheneto to Bottesford (77); Warin de Kyrketon to Nettleham (78); John de Crakehale to Somerton (79); Amauricus de Buggeden to Bugbrooke (80); and Roger of Lacock to the church of Hale (81). Some monastic patrons preferred those in the employ of Bishop Hugh: Alard of Arundel, one of his clerks, was presented by the Abbot and Convent of Crowland to the vicarage of Wellingborough (82). The same abbey presented another of Hugh's clerks, William de Ralegh, to the church of Whaplode (83). The abbey of Peterborough presented Geoffrey de Moris to the church of Warmington (84); and Ralph de Ferrariis to Kettering (85). Other clerks preferred by monasteries were John of Banbury by St. James Convent, Northampton-Litchborough; Robert Aketone to Aston le Walls by Chacombe Convent; and Richard de Windlesore to the church of Potter Hanworth by the convent of Thurgarton (86).

During the episcopate of Robert Grosseteste no fewer than three clerks of his familia were presented to Ab Kettleby rectory in the gift of Launde Priory. Simon de Arderne was instituted in 1237-8 (87) and Coleby was collated to him, by papal dispensation 30th November 1240 (88). He had followed Remigius of Pocklington, a frequent witness of letters of institution until the bishop's fourth year, who must have vacated Ab Kettleby by 13th June 1238 when Simon de Arderne was instituted to it (89). On 12th December 1240 he had letters of institution to Surfleet Rectory on the presentation of

Spalding Priory (90). Master Leonard of Dunwich, one of Grosseteste's clerks and an envoy to the papal court in 1249 (91), followed Simon as rector of Ab Kettleby, ~~in~~

In 1241 Horkstow church was collated to William of Hemingborough, the bishop having the presentation per lapsum. His name is found as a witness to a number of letters of institution, and later he became a canon (93). Master Roger de Burwardiscote, found among Grosseteste's familia on 5th August 1242 and at intervals throughout the next two years until 9th November 1242, received the church of Tackley per lapsum in 1243-4 (94).

Bardney Abbey also favoured one of Grosseteste's clerks with the rich rectory of Heckington, with the proviso that this was conditional on his being able to hold it with his prebend (95). The Abbot and Convent of Thornton favoured Simon Constable who was a frequent witness in the first four years of Grosseteste's episcopate. He was instituted to their rectory of Carlton le Moorland in 1235-6 (96), and again to Belgrave Rectory on the presentation of the Prior of Ware in the fourth year and had letters of institution dated 12th August 1239 (97).

Grosseteste's steward, John of Crakehall, held the rectory of Shillington (Beds.) by 1240 (98) and on 24th April 1245 had a papal indult to hold an additional benefice with cure of souls (99). He was succeeded by Master Roger of Raveningham, one of the most able of Grosseteste's clerks, on the presentation of Ramsey Abbey, the patrons (100)

Among others of Grosseteste's familia to be presented with livings by monastic orders were Master John Grosseteste presented to Litchborough by St. James Abbey, Northampton (101), and to Whissendine by Lindores Abbey (102); Master John de Offington to Earl's Barton by Delapre Abbey (103); John of Riston to Ewerby by Kyme Priory (104);

John was evidently in favour with several monastic houses, as he held St. Peter's, Stamford in commendam of the gift of St. Fromund's Priory (27th February 1250) and in 1251 he received Wainfleet St. Mary rectory on presentation of the Prioress and Convent of Stixwold (105).

John of Riston (or Reston) acted as proctor for the Prior and Convent of St. Fromund, who had lands and patronage in the diocese, in the years 1268, 1269, (when he took the opportunity of presenting a kinsman, Stephen de Riston, to St. Paul, Stamford), and in 1273 (106).

Among others preferred by Grosseteste was John de Dyham found witnessing letters of institution from the first to the ninth year, who was collated to the rectory of Hambleton (Rutland) before Grosseteste's consecration, and again on 2nd January 1239 to Wheathampstead, where on this occasion he is described as capellanus noster (107). The bishop also collated John of Easton, who frequently witnesses letters of institution from 1237 until 18th April 1240, to the church of Mursley (Bucks.) (108). Thomas of Fleet, a lesser clerk, was collated to Sacombe (Herts.) shortly before the bishop's death, and held it until the year 1277 when he died (109). Roger of Fritwell witnessed letters of institution throughout Grosseteste's episcopate and was instituted to Wing on presentation of St. Neot's Abbey in 1239 and received collation to Narborough rectory on 21st January 1242 (110). The bishop also took the opportunity as patron per lapsum to collate Elias of Hertford to Scot Willoughby in 1247-8 (111). It is possible that this Elias is the king's clerk who was sent to the monasteries in the diocese and later throughout the country to ask for assistance with money and horses in 1242 (112).

'It was now, as generally in the Middle Ages', writes A. Hamilton Thompson (113), 'the custom of religious houses to present

to their best livings public men upon whose support they could rely, whether with the Crown or with their diocesan'. Aubrey of Fécamp, engaged in the king's wardrobe at the beginning of Gravesend's episcopate, held the Peterborough livings of Cottingham and Peakirk (114). One of their most valuable livings Brighthurst (Leics.) was held by Gravesend's vicar-general, John of Maidstone (115).

Roger of Raveningham, archdeacon of Huntingdon, was rector of three churches in his archdeaconry, Catworth, in private patronage, Yaxley, in the gift of Thorney, and Warboys, in the gift of Ramsey Abbey (116). The Poitevin keeper of the wardrobe, Peter Chaceporc, held the Westminster living of Aldenham (Herts.) (117). However, Hamilton Thompson issues the warning that the entry referring to his death, may mean a younger relation of the same name, as he died eight years earlier. William of Hambleton who gave years of service to the chancery, held the Selby Abbey living of Ashby (Lincs.) (118), and was later instituted to Whiston, in the patronage of the Earl of Gloucester (119). Hugh of Evesham, ^{was} instituted to Coxhill, Lincs., on the presentation of Bridlington Priory in 1265, and later allowed to hold the church in commendam with his other benefices, one of which was Benefield (Northants.) which he resigned in 1277 (120). He was promoted to the cardinalate in 1281 with the title of San Lorenzo in Lucina.

Gravesend, like his predecessor, surrounded himself with a familia of faithful and able men, among whom was his nephew Richard who held a prebend of Leighton Ecclesia in 1263, and later became Archdeacon of Northampton and Bishop of London. Nicholas of Waltham, Bishop Gravesend's clerk, held the fourth part of the church of Hibaldstow, in the bishop's gift (121). William of Aveton, constantly in attendance on the bishop, was collated to Wooburn (Bucks.) in 1265 (122); William of Thornton who became his chancellor in 1275-6 held the living of

Wooburn in succession to William of Aveton (123). Richard of Wyke, another clerk held several livings, Wheathampstead in the bishop's gift (124), and Byfield in the gift of the Abbey of St. Evroult (125). His successor at Wheathampstead was another of the bishop's clerks, John of Leicester (126).

Oliver Sutton followed the tradition of his predecessors in collating members of his household to livings in the diocese. One of the first was Master William of Stockton collated to Mere (in the gift of the bishop) (127). William of Langworth who is found witnessing a number of institutions was given the church of Sotby in commendam until Robert Durand was of age (128).

The bishop's two chaplains, Robert of Kibworth held the church of Saddington on the presentation of the Abbot and Convent of St. Agatha, Richmond, in 1291, and Robert of Warsop was collated in 1298 to Winwick in the person of his proctor Master N. of Appletree (129). His clerk, Hugh of Harewood, he collated to the mediety of the church of Isham in 1293 (130). Others of his staff were presented to livings in the patronage of religious houses: Roger of Kilworth to Merton by the Abbot and Convent of Eynsham (131); Master Henry of Nassington to Pytchley by the Abbot and Convent of Peterborough (132).

NOTES TO PAGES 104-116

- 1 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 32.
- 2 Ibid. ii. pp. 48, 52.
- 3 Ibid. i. p. 11.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 166.
- 5 Ibid. ii. pp. 10, 12.
- 6 Ibid. ii. p. 56. *He was probably in Minor Orders*
- 7 Ibid. ii. p. 58.
- 8 Ibid. ii. p. 55.
- 9 Ibid. ii. p. 75.
- 10 Grosseteste, pp. 29, 54, 320, 360, 402.
- 11 Gravesend, xxviii.
- 12 Ibid. p. 6 and note on p. 265.
- 13 Ibid. p. 92 and note on p. 291.
- 14 Ibid. p. 85 (bis).
- 15 Ibid. pp. 254-5.
- 16 Sutton, i. p. 58.
- 17 Ibid. Leicester Fol. 291B.
- 18 Ibid. Buckingham Fol. 317.
- 19 *Ibid. i. pp. 39, 115,*
- 20 Ibid. i. pp. 54, 82.
- 21 Ibid. ii. pp. 63, 83.
- 22 Ibid. i. pp. 189, 200.
- 23 Ibid. Leicester Roll Memb. 1 (bis).
- 24 Ibid. i. pp. 198, 207.
- 25 Ibid. i. pp. 240-1.
- 26 Ibid. Oxford Folio 337^V, 340, 342.
- 27 A. L. Poole. 'The Obligations of Society in the 12th and 13th Centuries', O.U.P., 1946, p. 29

- 28 Hugh of Wells, i. pp. 19-20.
- 29 Ibid. ii. p. 3.
- 30 Ibid. ii. p. 154.
- 31 Ibid. iii. p. 37.
- 32 Ibid. iii. p. 39.
- 33 Ibid. i. pp. 11, 12, 13, 24, 81, 84, 92, 104, 121, 170, 217, 220, 258
ii. pp. 132, 174; iii. pp. 125, 175.
- 34 Ibid. i. p. 7.
- 35 Ibid. i. p. 102.
- 36 Ibid. i. p. 155; ii. p. 85, 90, 283; ii. p. 46; i. p. 80;
iii. p. 212; i. p. 5, 64; ii. p. 61, 82; iii. p. 208, 168;
i. p. 11; i. p. 94; i. p. 57; ii. p. 318; iii. p. 205;
ii. p. 173; ii. p. 9; ii. p. 280, 283.
- 37 Grosseteste, p. 73.
- 38 Ibid. p. 60.
- 39 Ibid. p. 236.
- 40 Ibid. p. 109.
- 41 Ibid. p. 136.
- 42 Ibid. p. 3.
- 43 Ibid. p. 153.
- 44 Ibid. p. 244.
- 45 Ibid. pp. 236, 198.
- 46 Gravesend, p. 27.
- 47 Ibid. p. 150.
- 48 Ibid. p. 247.
- 49 Ibid. p. 62.
- 50 Ibid. p. 136.
- 51 Ibid. p. 83.
- 52 Ibid. p. 96.

- 53 Gravesend, p. 138.
- 54 Sutton, i. p. 19.
- 55 Ibid. ii. p. 25. ²⁴
- 56 Ibid. ii. p. 42.
- 57 Ibid. ii. p. 73.
- 58 Ibid. ii. p. 60.
- 59 Ibid. ii. p. 45.
- 60 Ibid. Stow Roll, memb. 4.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Ibid. Bedford Roll 311^V.
- 63 Ibid. Buckingham Folio 331.
- 64 Ibid. ii. pp. 25-6.
- 65 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 52, 62.
- 66 Ibid. ii. pp. 283-4.
- 67 Ibid. iii. p. 14.
- 68 Gravesend, p. 102.
- 69 Ibid. p. 191.
- 70 Ibid. p. 212., and p. 28 of the thesis.
- 71 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 70.
- 72 Ibid. i. p. 63.
- 73 Ibid. i. p. 69.
- 74 Ibid. i. p. 127.
- 75 Ibid. i. p. 127.
- 76 Ibid. i. p. 151.
- 77 Ibid. i. p. 213.
- 78 Ibid. i. p. 221.
- 79 Ibid. ii. p. 35.
- 80 Ibid. ii. p. 99.
- 81 Ibid. iii. p. 162.

- 82 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 148.
- 83 Ibid. ii. p. 102.
- 84 Ibid. ii. p. 141.
- 85 Ibid. ii. p. 122.
- 86 Ibid. ii. p. 110; ii. p. 123; iii. p. 139.
- 87 Grosseteste, p. 49.
- 88 Ibid. p. 56.
- 89 Ibid. p. 401.
- 90 Ibid. p. 57.
- 91 Paris, Chronica Majora v, p. 96; vi. p. 152.
- 92 Grosseteste, p. 420.
- 93 Ibid. pp. 417-8, 365, 428, 293, 112, 248.
- 94 Ibid. pp. 479, 289.
- 95 Ibid. p. 61.
- 96 Ibid. p. 3.
- 97 Ibid. pp. 405, 410.
- 98 Roll of Justices in Eyre 1240 Fowler, B.H.R.S. ix, p. 121.
- 99 C.P.A. i. p. 216.
- 100 Grosseteste, p. 190.
- 101 Ibid. pp. 164, 167.
- 102 Ibid. p. 172.
- 103 Ibid. p. 240.
- 104 Ibid. pp. 65, 72, 78-9.
- 105 Ibid. pp. 117-8, 128.
- 106 Gravesend, pp. 27, 36, 54.
- 107 ~~Grosseteste~~ pp. 159, 267.
- 108 Ibid. p. 354.
- 109 Ibid. p. 187.
- 110 Ibid. pp. 417-8.
- 111 Ibid. p. 100.

- 112 C.P.R. 1232-47, p. 280.
- 113 Gravesend, xxvi.
- 114 Ibid. pp. 107, 128.
- 115 Ibid. p. 143.
- 116 Ibid. pp. 182-3.
- 117 Ibid. p. 169; xxvii.
- 118 Ibid. p. 71.
- 119 Ibid. p. 135.
- 120 Ibid. p. 133.
- 121 Ibid. p. 91.
- 122 Ibid. p. 240.
- 123 Ibid. p. 144.
- 124 Ibid. p. 176.
- 125 Ibid. p. 135.
- 126 Ibid. p. 187.
- 127 Sutton, i. p. 7.
- 128 Ibid. i. p. 95.
- 129 Ibid. Leicester Folio 280^B; ii. p. 154.
- 130 Ibid. i. pp. 103, 130.
- 131 Ibid. Oxford Folio 339^V.
- 132 Ibid. ii. p. 58.

PAPAL PROVISIONS

While the majority of those presented to livings relied on a nearby monastery or a lay patron to present them to a living, a certain select number, comparatively few, were provided to a church by the pope himself. The right of the pope to provide for clerks in his employ was enforced from the end of the 12th century by legal sanctions. It meant that the rights of the patrons were abrogated and that they could not dispose of the benefices in their gift. This was justified on the theory that 'omnes ecclesie et res ecclesiarum sunt in potestate pape' (1).

The only example of a request for a benefice to be conferred on someone is found in a letter from Pope Gregory IX to an unnamed Bishop of Lincoln in which he requests a suitable benefice for R. rector of Oddington, Oxon. The letter is dated *xiii kalendas Maii* (18th April) in the eighth year of his pontificate (i.e. 1234-5). (2). Hugh of Wells died on 7th February, 1234/5 and his successor, Robert Grosseteste, was not consecrated until 17th June, 1235. The letter undoubtedly refers to Roger de Turberville, sub-deacon, who had been instituted parson of Oddington in the fourteenth year of Hugh of Wells episcopate (3) and collated by the bishop in his twenty-sixth year to the church of Oadby, de mandato et auctoritate domini Pape (4). The rights of the patrons in any future presentation were safeguarded in the words 'salvo patronis ipsius, cum ipsam alias vacare contigerit, jure suo presentandi ad eandem' (5).

However, members of the pope's familia or their relatives were preferred. Stephen de Fossa Nova, nephew of the pope's chamberlain, was instituted to the church of Nettleton in the person of his proctor Senebald (6). The prebend of Little Bytham was conferred on William de St. Germain, writer of the pope (7). Another writer Bernard is

rewarded with the church of Cheddington on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Oswald of Nostley (8). The church of Slapton is assigned to Amicus, clerk of St. Mary Rotund, auctoritate domini Pape (9).

In the presentation of Guy de Arico by the Prior and Convent of Ashby to the church of Moreton Pinkney, Northants., there appears to be an example of papal direction, as the words 'cui dominus Episcopus de mandato domini pape providere tenebatur' (10). How far the pope influenced other appointments is not known, but it would seem that he may have had a hand in the presentation of Peter, nephew of B., Papal Chamberlain, presented by Boecius, 'familiarem domini Pape' to the chapel of Barkstone (11).

The pope continued to provide for his household and staff throughout the episcopate of Robert Grosseteste. G. Delisle (de Insula), subdean and chaplain of the Pope, is to be inducted to Alwalton by proxy (12). While Adinulfus, the pope's nephew, is instituted in the person of Thomas, his proctor, nomine provisionis assignavit (13). Otto, another subdean and chaplain of the Pope is given possession of St. Mary's church at Amersham, and the Archdeacon of Buckingham is ordered to induct him by proxy in the person of Master Boecⁱ (14).

Others instituted under papal provision were Richard Hanybald whose proctor, Bartholomew, was to be instituted to Scotter on his behalf by the rural dean of Gainsborough (15). John, the son of the noble Landcn, a citizen of Anagni, is instituted to Chesterton in the person of his brother James, again by auctoritate litterarum domini Pape (16).

Those who had studied well were also favoured by the pope. Thus, Master Nicholas of Hereford was provided with Broughton because he was a poor clerk and for two years had studied in the Theological

Faculty (17). Richard de Nevill, clerk, is to be inducted into the church of Prestwold and the papal mandate was given to the Archdeacon of Leicester to so induct (18). The Nevills were a powerful family and it is possible that the pope wished to honour Richard for that reason, and perhaps to win favour in England.

The pope's physician, Master Rolandinus was rewarded twice with papal provisions: he received the church of Tathwell, Lincs. (19) and Whissendine in Northamptonshire (20). Thomas de Treb', a canon of Fulgentius was also instituted to Scraftoft nomine provisionis assignasse (21).

While Grosseteste recognized the full authority of the pope in such matters as provisions, he had his doubts about the exercise of it. In his letter to Cardinal Otto in 1238 he expressed his feelings on the matter (22). He recognizes the papal power to dispose freely of all benefices, but points out that the abuse of that power builds for the fires of hell. To confer benefices without first obtaining the assent of the patrons can only lead to scandal.

Grosseteste's misgivings about papal provisions and the abuse of them by papal agents provoked him to protest in 1250 at the Council of Lyons. While not objecting to papal power, as such, he did object to the provision of unsuitable clerks to benefices in particular cases to the detriment of the cure of souls. Matthew Paris says that Grosseteste 'hated like poison the dishonest Romans who had the Pope's precept for obtaining a provision. He was in the habit of saying that if he were to hand the cure of souls over to them he would be acting Satan's part. Consequently he often threw away letters sealed with the papal bulls, and acted directly in contravention to such commands' (23) Despite the somewhat exaggerated language of Matthew Paris, the remark

about the cure of souls echoes Grosseteste's thought.

In January 1253 Grosseteste had to put into practice his theories on papal provisions. He was ordered to provide the Pope's nephew, Frederick of Lavagna, with a prebend in Lincoln. He refused on the grounds that the man was unsuitable. He stated his views in a letter to Master Innocent, the papal notary. To cause the destruction of souls by depriving them of pastoral care is the worst of all sins, comparable to the sin of Lucifer and Antichrist; to command such a thing cannot be a genuine exercise of the apostolic power (24).

Although he had received a papal indult from Pope Innocent IV in 1245 that he should not be compelled to bestow pensions, prebends or other benefices on anyone without a special papal mandate (25). This was nullified by the 'non obstante' clause inserted into the nominations to benefices, so that absentees and pluralists continued to be provided with benefices.

Although only ten presentations were due to papal mandates during Grosseteste's episcopate, other presentations by monastic houses may have been due to papal requests which tended to be treated as papal commands. This may possibly have been true of Gravesend's episcopate as there is only one direct reference to a papal provision but several to members of the papal household being presented to benefices by religious houses, and others exhibiting a papal privilege to possess more than one church with cure of souls. Richard of Barnwell, clerk, was provided under papal mandate with St. Gregory, Northampton. The bishop accepted him on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of St. Andrew's Northampton and he was ordained at Haugham and instituted rector by the bishop (26).

Dom. John de S. Maria was presented by the Queen as guardian of Henry de Lacy to West Halton, and he exhibited a privilege from

Pope Urban III (?) (d. recte Urban IV) 'ut duas ecclesias licite poterit optinere preter duas ecclesias quas prius habuit' (27).

Master Thomas de Sorham, domini pape subdiaconus, is presented to Risholme by Brother William Carpentarius, proctor of the Abbey of Exaquo^(Lerbury) (28), possibly on papal authority, although it is not stated. The Abbot of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester presented Master Thomas de Iuda, subdeacon and papal chaplain to Adstock in 1260 (29).

The apparent decline in papal provisions continued during Oliver Sutton's episcopate. In 1291 Master John of Burton, priest, produced a bull providing him to the church of Market Deeping, and a letter from Archbishop Pecham authorising his induction (30). The church of Aswardby had two rectors in succession provided to it: the first Gilbert of Legbourne had letters of provision from Pope Celestine V. These were accepted by Master Robert of Killingworth on behalf of the bishop and the patrons, the Prior and Convent of Kyme were enjoined to submit to it (31). On 9th March, 1298, on the death of Gilbert, John of St. Edmund, priest, was provided by Pope Boniface VIII with the church. Gilbert had died at Rome, therefore under the terms of Clement IV's famous 'Licet ecclesiarum' decretal of 1265 the pope claimed the right to appoint a successor to him at Aswardby (32).

The learned doctor of canon law, provided by Boniface VIII to Towcester, relinquished his vicarage of Hampton and promised to reside at Towcester (33). On the whole Oliver Sutton was obedient to the papal orders, if perhaps reluctantly. In 1298 Pope Boniface VIII had written to him offering him to provide for Richard of Ashwell, clerk in minor orders, a benefice in the city or diocese of Lincoln of which the advowson belonged to the Abbot and Convent of St. James outside Northampton. Richard was required to be ordained and undertake

the responsibilities of the living. The bishop took measure^s to see that the Abbot and Convent did not override this claim, and when the vicarage of Horton fell vacant Richard was duly instituted, even though he was not yet in major orders (34). However, on 20th December, 1298, he was ordained subdeacon (35) and had letters dimissory to be ordained deacon and priest by any catholic bishop (36). On 13th June, 1299, he was ordained priest by John, Bishop of Llandaff, acting for Bishop Sutton, whose health was failing at this time (37).

Bishop Sutton's views on papal provisions are clearly given in his letter to Boniface VIII in 1297 (38). The pope had provided John de Colonna to a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral. He was quite ready to obey the papal mandate 'in spite of the fact that the church of Lincoln was, according to him, full of unworthy men who held their prebends by papal provision'. The whole house of Colonna had been excommunicated by the pope, and Sutton inquired how he could obey the pope's orders. He also added that papal provisions were doing the church of Lincoln no good (39). In the same year the bishop had raised objections to the papal provision of Master Antonio de Niniano to the church of Felmersham (40).

NOTES TO PAGES 122-127

- 1 G. Barraclough, Papal Provisions, ch. ii. p. 8f.
- 2 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 326.
- 3 Ibid. ii. p. 12.
- 4 Ibid. ii. p. 325.
- 5 Ibid. op. cit.
- 6 Ibid. i. p. 125.
- 7 Ibid. i. p. 128.
- 8 Ibid. ii. p. 76.
- 9 Ibid. ii. p. 87. St. Mary Rotund, commonly called the Panteon.
- 10 Ibid. ii. p. 129.
- 11 Ibid. iii. p. 213.
- 12 Grosseteste, p. 268.
- 13 Ibid. p. 394.
- 14 Ibid. p. 353.
- 15 Ibid. p. 137.
- 16 Ibid. pp. 255, 267.
- 17 Ibid. p. 390.
- 18 Ibid. p. 387.
- 19 Ibid. p. 85.
- 20 Ibid. p. 225.
- 21 Ibid. p. 401.
- 22 Ibid. Epistolae p. 49.
- 23 M. Paris, Chronica Majora v. p. 257.
- 24 Grosseteste, Epistolae pp. 435 ff.
- 25 C. P. L. Vol. i. p. 216.
- 26 Gravesend, p. 107.
- 27 Ibid. p. 95.

- 28 Gravesend, pp. 92, 350.
- 29 Ibid. p. 236.
- 30 Sutton, i. p. 157.
- 31 Ibid. i. p. 191.
- 32 Ibid. i. pp. 225-6. Barraclough op. cit. pp. 8-9.
- 33 Ibid. ii. pp. 130-1 and Oxford Folio p. 344.
- 34 Ibid. ii. p. 151.
- 35 Ibid. vii. p. 118.
- 36 Ibid. vi. p. 113.
- 37 Ibid. vii. p. 116.
- 38 Ibid. iii. Intro. pp. ~~lxxx~~-lxxxi
- 39 Ibid. vi. p. 62.
- 40 Ibid. v. p. 208.

CLERICAL EDUCATION AND PATRONAGE

The typical parish priest of this century was essentially a peasant priest. Many probably had a ploughman for a brother and some would have begun life as serfs. The only way to the priesthood was by means of education. Although schools are found in some of the towns, i.e. Lincoln, Northampton, Oxford, Stamford (1), the ignorance of the clergy is the subject for constant comment and legislation. The training of the future priest was a very haphazard affair. From the episcopal registers of the diocese it is evident that few but absentee rectors, often in minor orders, obtained a university education and of those not many proceeded to the degree of Magister in Artibus.

In his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* Gerald of Wales gave many examples of the bad Latinity, the grammatical blunders and the appalling ignorance of many of the clergy. One of the worst cited is the account of the priest who was giving a sermon on the Canaanite woman and said that she was part dog and part woman. He did not know the difference between "cananaeam" and "caninam". (2).

There is no doubt that the education of the clergy left much to be desired. Attempts to improve the situation were made by all the bishops of Lincoln throughout the thirteenth century. Where Bishop Hugh of Wells suspected that the standard of learning was inadequate for a presentee to a living he ordered him to attend the schools and 101 were so ordered.

The first instance in the bishop's registers of one ordered to attend the schools is that of Robert Malebisse, presented by his father to the church of Enderby (Lincs.) (3). Robert's institution was postponed until Easter when, after attendance at the schools, he was to be examined as to his competence in literature and singing.

At Ewelme, (Oxon.), Ralph Bloet was ordered to learn music

(Injunctum est autem eidem presentato ut musicam addescat) (4).

At Bilsby (Lincs.) a presentee, Richard de Farlesthorne, was rejected because he was nearly illiterate (quod fere illiteratus fuit) and no opportunity was given him to remedy his ignorance (5). These

presented to Braunton, Aldwinckle, Little Bowden, Waddington, Maidford, Plumpton, and Marston Trussell were all ordered to attend the schools (6).

The patrons of five of these livings were laymen and Little Bowden was held by Leund Priory and Plumpton by the Convent of St. Lucian, Beauvais. In addition to attending the schools, some had to learn to chant as was the case at Titmarsh and Hargrave, as the entry puts it 'maxime cantare' (7).

In some entries the period of time required to study is laid down: for most presentees it seems to have been for one year. This is the case for Reginald, instituted to the church of Little Loughton, who had the bishop's licence to attend the schools for a year and then to be ordained through all the orders to the priesthood and to serve personally (8). Another Reginald, presented to Broughton-Pogis (9) is to attend the schools 'et addiscat et post annum ut supra'. The latter refers to a previous entry where William, son of Alan, is to attend the schools and study and afterwards 'sub pena beneficii veniat examinandus' (10). Similarly, Robert de Dagenhale, instituted to Thornby is to attend the schools and present himself for examination 'sub pena beneficii sui amittendi' if he does not succeed. (11). The archdeacon's Official is given the task of seeing that the injunction is carried out.

Others were given longer than a year in which to study: Elias, a subdeacon, presented by Richard de Grave to the church of Grove (Bucks.) is to be ordained deacon and to attend the schools

for three years. Meanwhile a suitable chaplain is to officiate (12). Eustace, a clerk, was given longer, especially as he was under age. He was instituted to Langton and Henry, chaplain of the church, was appointed his proctor by the bishop. He is to provide Eustace with necessities in the schools (13). Walter de Clinton is allowed to be absent for seven years in the schools and to study under a master approved by the bishop (14).

Occasionally the subjects to be studied are mentioned: Geoffrey de Cropredy has a licence to study for three years in the schools in Holy Scripture and Canon Law (15). While Hugh de Scalby of Cold Hanworth is given time to study and to practise singing (16), as were others already mentioned. Hugh proved to be incompetent and he was given charge of the church from St. Thomas Day until Easter, possibly to give him further opportunity to improve. Joscius de Bilington, presented by the Prior of Sempringham, is instituted to the church of Horbling, with the injunction that he be ordained sub-deacon and that he 'addiscat in scolis continue, usque parrochiam sciatis regere' (17). At Edg^ecote Vivian was allowed by the bishop to postpone his ordination to the subdiaconate because he was 'juvenis et scholaris' (18).

Not everyone who attended the schools seems to have succeeded. Gervase, a clerk, was presented by the Prior and Convent of Merton to the chapel of Whipsnade, but he was not admitted on account of his insufficient learning. He was allowed, however, to have charge of the church from the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3rd May) to the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (1st August). He was to study literature and practise singing, and then to be instituted if found sufficient (19). It is not certain whether he succeeded or not, as

we read of Ralph being instituted to the chapel of Whipsnade on the presentation of the Prior and Convent of Merton in Bishop Hugh's tenth year, i.e. 1219 (20).

Some parishes seem to have been ill served by the patrons, for Sir Thomas de Arderne, patron of Drayton, near Banbury, presented Roger de Arderne, acolyte to the church as parson. He was to attend the schools or be deprived (beneficio suo privabatur) (21). Within a year he was presenting again: this time Thomas de Simili, another acolyte, was instituted parson with the injunction to attend the schools (22). The reference to deprivation is not made, but presumably it applied to this case. The bishop is to ordain a vicarage, evidently to make certain that the church was properly served.

Where Walter, brother of the patron of Pilton, was concerned, the bishop felt he had to give reasons to the rural dean of Cambridge and his fellow judges why he had been rejected. Apparently, he had been examined on three occasions and had been given every opportunity to prove himself, but without success (23). There is no doubt that the most lax among the patrons to parishes were the layfolk, especially those presenting members of their own family or kinsmen to churches in their gift. At the end of a year's study Peter Lupus presented provisionally by Robert Lupus to the church of Roade was found to be wanting, and William de Esse was instituted to the portion which he had held (24).

At Shenley the patron was Joan La Blunde who wished to present her son, Richard, to the living. Richard in 1221 is described as a clerk, but his learning made no favourable impression on Bishop Hugh who thought nevertheless that 'there was hope of him'. So the young man was instituted, but ordered to the University under pain of deprivation, while the cure was placed in the hands of Hugh de Rochester, chaplain (25). Richard failed to reach the required

standard, and it seems the bishop carried out his threat, for in the following year Joan was again presenting to the living. This time the nominee was Matthew, son of Waleran, clerk (26).

Again the bishop seems to have made enquiries and to have been suspicious of his ability. Although Matthew was instituted, the bishop insisted on the oath being taken in his presence that he would attend the university for study. A note has been added somewhat grimly, 'that, if as is said, he do not attend the schools, his benefice shall be sequestered into the hands of the bishop' (27). A year later, John, a clerk, also presented by Joan La Blunde, is instituted, but without the proviso that he attend the schools (28).

Others presented to livings while still studying were required to continue with their studies until found proficient. Sir Hugh Dispensarius presented to three livings in his gift three clerks: Hugh Dispensarius to a parsonage of $2\frac{1}{2}$ marks in Walton le Wolds; Ralph de Turevill to Loughborough - a pension of three marks; and Thomas de Turevill to a parsonage in the church of Loughborough (29). All had to study. Presumably, the 'parsonages' and pension were to provide funds for that purpose.

Similarly, Nicholas de Verdun presented Thomas de Verdun (possibly a kinsman) to the church of Farnham Royal, and he was required to attend the schools (30). In 1222 he presented William de Wudetone to Belton, but he too had to study in the schools and later be examined to see how he had progressed (31). Lastly he presented Walter de Clintone to Goadby Marwood as we have seen (*supra*).

The bishop was clearly a considerate and fair man for he allowed Richard de Ken, presented by Sir John de Ken to Kettlethorpe, to attend the schools because he thought 'spes erat de eodem Ricardo' (32)

Among those noted earlier with the same patronymic who presented candidates who had to attend the schools were Roger Arderne to Drayton, William Mansel to Shenley, Robert Mansel to Soulsbury, Lawrence Dairel to Lillington Dayrell, Simon de Dingle to East Farnham, Walter de Hosa to a parsonage in the church of ^{Farnish} (33). Thomas de Wilegby conditionally receives the church of Cumberworth at the joint presentation of Robert le Tus de Munby, R. de Wilegby, and Alice de Munby (34). While Alan de Repingal is presented by John, son of Hugh de Repingal with the added injunction that he study 'maxime cantare' (35), if he is to retain the third part of the church of Rippingale.

In contrast to the laxity of the lay patrons in their presentations to livings, the monastic orders seem on the whole to have been more thorough. There are twenty-six presentees to livings in the gift of monastic houses who needed to study at the schools (36).

The most lax of the monastic houses presenting to livings was Eynsham Abbey as four of their presentees were required to attend the schools and study (37). One, Walter de Clere, granted custody of the church of Little Rollright must first be examined in singing, so he was certainly not illiterate. Evidently he satisfied the examiners, as he is found in Hugh of Wells fifteenth year as a deacon being instituted to ^{the} ^{age} ~~parson~~ of Little Rollright (38). Robert de Vernun is under age and is admitted by dispensation. While he is studying at the schools, a perpetual vicar is to care for the parish. If the vicar should die within the seven years of Robert's absence in the schools, another is to be appointed. In the event of his dying after the expiration of the seven years, another need not be appointed as Robert is to take the whole church (39).

While clergy were studying at the schools, the parishes to which they were instituted were looked after by chaplains appointed

for the purpose. Occasionally that was not necessary, as in the case of William de Wurmele, instituted to the church of Wrangle which had two chaplains 'et unus diaconus necessarii' (40). Although John de Dunstone has to appear before the Archdeacon of Northampton at the end of a year to give an account of his progress in the schools at Northampton, no reference is made to his having a chaplain. This could be because he holds the church of St. Bartholomew, Northampton and is described as a 'capellanus' so that he could officiate in the church himself while continuing his studies (41).

In addition to the schools already mentioned some clergy have the privilege of studying in Paris: Hugh de Karleton, presented to the church of Barnack, is not admitted because he is absent studying at Paris (42). He is not to be instituted until the bishop has received testimonials from the masters at the university as to his good conduct. A certain Ledger, a clerk presented to the church of Morton, 'intends studying at the schools in Paris' (43).

It was required of the clergy that they be proficient in reading, song and Latin grammar. Examiners had to ascertain many things: ordinands had to be freeman, sound in mind and body, without incurable disease or deformity. They must have received the necessary previous orders and have reached the stipulated age: i.e. for a subdeacon, 18 years, for a deacon 20 years, and for a priest 25 years. Ordinations were administered by the bishop four times a year: on the third Saturday in Advent, on a Saturday during Lent, on the Saturday in Whitsuntide and on the third Saturday in September. The place appointed was usually the cathedral or the chapel of the manor where the bishop happened to be staying. There are several centres referred to in Hugh of Wells rolls: Lincoln (44), Leicester (45), Buckden (46), Huntingdon (47) and Grantham (48).

Grosseteste shared his predecessor's concern for the education of the clergy and from the beginning of his episcopate worked conscientiously and unflaggingly to that end. An idealist, he expressed his views on the priesthood before his consecration in a small work, the *Templum Dei* or *Templum Domini*, as it is sometimes called (49).

Written c. 1230 (50), its aim was to prepare clergy to take a greater responsibility in the cura animarum. Beginning with a description of the priest as the 'temple of God' (1 Cor. iii, 16), Grosseteste goes on to show that the temple of God which is the soul of man has two parts, a corporeal part (of which the four cardinal virtues are the integral parts) and a spiritual part (of which faith is the foundation, hope the walls, charity the roof). The whole life of man consists in building up and preserving this temple - In hoc ergo duplici templo edificando et custodiendo consistit vita hominis.

Since it is the function of a priest to care for souls, so accordingly he, the physician of souls, must know intimately not only the foundations of the Christian edifice but also all those influences that can threaten and undermine it and that he must counteract in the confessional. The whole *Templum* is primarily a statement of what a priest needs to know if he is to interrogate with understanding and counsel effectively those penitents who come to him.

Grosseteste saw the bishop as a pastor ovium who is so devoted to his charges that he is ready to die for them. He is directly responsible to God for every soul in his diocese. Thus a man lacking ability or a full respect for the law of the Church is no safe shepherd of a flock. It was not enough to reject an unworthy presentee to a living. The evils inherent in the system of presentation had to be struck at precisely where they are rooted, i.e. in those who presume to present. These must be made aware of their

responsibility to present worthy people and to present them properly (51).

This attitude was seen early on in his episcopate when replying to a letter of criticism from a Master Michael Beleth (52), as we have seen (p. 20).

He had no hesitation in rejecting those presented to benefices, if they were found to be lacking qualities needed for the care of souls. It made no difference to him who were the patrons, be they laymen of great families, friends, monastic houses, even the king or the pope. So far as he was able, he determined to apply his principles to the patronage of churches in his diocese.

Grosseteste's rolls show that a number of presentees were not admitted because of their illiteracy. Geoffrey, a clerk, was presented to a mediety of Isham and rejected, but he is to receive a pension of three marks (54). William de Sisseverne, presented to Ayot St. Lawrence and rejected is also to have a pension of three marks a year (55). William of Aldwinckle, presented by his brother to the family living of All Saints, Aldwinckle, was nevertheless rejected for insufficiency (56).

Others are to have a master and are to be examined within a year or be deprived: such were Adam Curteney, presented by John Curteney to Crick, and Oliver de Nymet, presented by the same patron to Cranford (57). William de Meynhill, presented by the Prior of Ware to Noseley has to have a master and to remain for a year in the schools at Paris (58). The rector of Hauwell, Robert de Napton also 'debet habere magistrum' (59).

Some are given specific instructions: Reginald, presented to Lodington, has to improve his ability to sing or be deprived (60). Humphrey de Wautham has to present himself at Michaelmas to be examined on his knowledge of the ten commandments, the seven sacraments and the seven deadly sins or be deprived of his church of Sproxton (61).

Thomas of Prestwold, presented to Cossington, is to continue his study in the schools for a year until the octave of the Epiphany so that he may 'omnes omelias dominicales sciat' or be deprived (62).

More detailed evidence of Bishop Grosseteste's attitude towards those who proved to be insufficient may be found in his letters. Always the bishop had before him a great sense of responsibility towards those in his care. It underlay his reply in June 1235 to William Raleigh, treasurer of Exeter, whose candidate, William de Grave, he had refused because he was a mere boy, scarcely in his Ovid (puer videlicet adhuc ad Ovidium epistolarum palmam porrigens) (63). 'His institution to a cure of souls,' wrote Grosseteste, 'would open the way to hell for both of us' (sicque nosmet ipsos evidenter ignibus gehemnae condemnantes). Even so, he is prepared to make an allowance of ten marks to the boy so that he may be educated until he obtains a better living or some other provision is made for him.

In similar vein, Grosseteste wrote to John Blund, chancellor of York, when rejecting a relative of his, pointing out that to admit him to a cure of souls would incur the stain of sin. Not only was the candidate insufficiently educated but also effectively illiterate (omnino illiterato). In evidence of this Grosseteste sent Blund the answers given at the examination (64).

John Romeyn was treated in the same way when he endeavoured to present his nephew, Dionisius, who was almost illiterate (omnino fere illiterato) to Stanford-on-Avon. Grosseteste does not dare to institute Dionisius and tells his friend "it is for the very good reason that there are none more worthy to be damned than those who advance or procure the preferment of persons to a cura animarum who are incapable or ignorant, or are unwilling to look after their charges". (65).

In Epistle xlix the bishop gives his reasons to Cardinal Otto, the papal legate, for refusing the latter's clerk, Atto, an Italian, a prebend at Lincoln. The first reason was that the prebend had already been allotted to someone else. The second, he simply could not accept Atto. The bishop pointed out that while he would obey the pope in all things, who had the power freely to dispose of benefices, yet to confer an ecclesiastical benefice without consulting its patron, as Otto had done, was to disrupt faith and charity. Accordingly, he humbly asked Otto to withdraw his candidate (66).

Shortly after this, Otto wrote to the bishop on behalf of Thomas, son of Earl Ferrars, requesting him to admit Thomas to the benefice of Rand. Grosseteste turned him down on the grounds that he was too young and not in Holy Orders (67). The bishop asked that if Thomas did have the living a vicar might be appointed or a proper pastor, some provision being made for Thomas, without any care of souls, out of the benefice.

Undaunted, Otto tried again to obtain a Lincoln prebend for his clerk, Master Atto. In his reply against granting the request Grosseteste mentioned three points: the fear of favouritism; his unwillingness to give Atto a prebend with a cure of souls without a dispensation, as he had a cure already. He pointed out that he himself, who once held a prebend of this description and a parish together, resigned the latter after consulting the pope. Thirdly, he thinks Atto is not best suited to Lincoln: but he left the case to Otto's judgement (68).

It is significant that Atto's name appears among the canons of Lincoln as witnesses to the Institution of Giles de Spoletto to Warmington (69).

As we have seen in the cases of Beleth and Robert Passelawe, Grosseteste's concern was very much motivated by the principles of the right man for the job (70). He was convinced that to appoint an unworthy candidate to any cura animarum was a mortal sin. In his famous 'sermon' at the Council of Lyons in 1250 he pointed out that pastoral care consisted in more than saying the hours and celebrating masses. The truth had to be taught and vices condemned and punished. It also consisted in feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, covering the naked, receiving guests, visiting the sick and those in prison, especially those who belong to the parish, who have a claim on the endowments of their church. By the doing of these things is the people to be taught the holy duties of the active life (71).

In addition to those already mentioned the following received warnings that unless they studied they would be deprived of their benefices: Walter of Houton (72); Peter de Benigworth (73); Thomas son of the patron Haco de Mablethorpe (74); William Pikot (75). Reginald is to study to sing or lose his vicarage of Lodington (76). John Picot has a year in which to improve his studies or be deprived of his rectory of Branstone (77). In the case of Thomas of Prestwold it is laid down what he is to study: 'canes omelias dominicales' (78). Although the Bible was the most studied book of the middle ages, it would appear that the details of exegesis were left to the scholar. Grosseteste gave a high priority to the spiritual exposition of Scripture. As Beryl Smalley says, 'It was part and parcel of his view of life. He stood, as Langton had stood before him, for the reformation of society by a reformed clergy' (79). Grosseteste also expected his clergy to have a knowledge of the other aspects of religious teaching and Humphrey de Wautham who was presented to two portions of Sproxton has the particular injunction to come at Michaelmas

and be examined 'super prec(ibus), sacramentis, vii cri(mina) cum circumstanciis' (80), as we have seen (*supra*).

A number of presentees have to have a master and are to be examined within a year, i.e. Robert of Wyham, Adam of Curteney, Hugh Murdak, Oliver of Nymet, William de Hauthon, Thomas of Wyke and Robert of Napton (81). All of the above were presented by lay patrons except Robert de Wyham, who was presented by the Master of Sempringham and Ormsby Priory. William de Careby's institution to Careby was postponed until he became proficient (82). Ralph de Brocton is to be ordained acolyte and examined beforehand (83). At Saxilby we have the unusual case of G. Chaplain of Brocklesby who is to be re/presented to the bishop 'et nisi tunc inveniatur sciens sermonem et statuta domini Episcopi facto dicta vicaria privabitur' (84).

Others were not so fortunate as the above and were deprived because of their insufficiency, as was Geoffrey, *supra* (85); Robert was deprived of his vicarage of St. Edmund, Northampton (86) and William of Aldwinckle, (87).

At Totternhoe there is the unusual situation where two chaplains scilicet Jordano et Rogero propter insufficientiam repulsis et litteras presentationis resignantibus (88).

The same care and concern for the education of the clergy was shown during Gravesend's episcopate, although his rolls do not exhibit the details given in those of his predecessors. The first reference to a re-examination of a presentee is that to Richard of Halstead who is to be examined at the end of three years on his 'qualiter in litteratura profecerit' (89). Reginald de Otteley, presented to Bicker, has the threat of deprivation hanging over him unless he has 'secum socium residentem qui ipsum in litteratura informabit et a quo diligenter addiscet' (90). Hugh of London is

allowed to remain in the schools, but is to be ordained afterwards and serve personally (91). Others are to be instructed in grammar: Alexander of Canterbury, presented to Gainsborough (92); William of Bibisworth, presented to Blyborough (93). There is no evidence of anyone being deprived of his living for illiteracy, although two presentees were rejected because of their extreme youth: William Boleg' whose presentation to Saxilby was recalled (94), and Robert of Cocfeld's presentation to Ewelme~~was~~ rejected 'pro sua juventute' (95).

Oliver Sutton's registers reveal even fewer references to study leave and only one of a candidate required to resign because of his insufficiency (96). Custody of the church of Scotton is given to Master Robert of Radcliffe or Radclive until Robert of Nevill is of age, who also has to study under his master's supervision (97). Custody of the church and the candidate for presentation to the church of Wanlip is given to Master Gilbert de Burstal until William Waleye has come of age and is ordained subdeacon (98). Henry Bell of Humberstone, a clerk, had to prove that he was sufficiently literate before he was allowed to hold a cure of souls (99).

Seven others were required to study grammar and the other things necessary to the priesthood and without cure of souls, until they were proficient (100). Thomas Isaac of Grantham, although ordained priest, appeared to be extremely uncertain about the words of the masses of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the Blessed Virgin and the requiem mass, so he was ordered by the bishop to devote himself to the study of these and of other suitable matters. When he was reasonably word perfect then he would be allowed, with the bishop's licence, to celebrate these four masses, but without cure of souls (101).

Oliver Sutton evidently encouraged scholars, as licences were granted for leave of absence to three rectors and one archdeacon. Ralph, rector of Fulbeck, is to spend a year in the study of Theology, but he is to make arrangements for the parish during his absence (102). William de Hastang¹, rector of Great Coates, has the choice of Oxford or Cambridge for his year's study of theology or canon law (103). While John, rector of Helmdon has the opportunity to study theology in one of the schools abroad (104). William de Estiniaco, Archdeacon of Lincoln, however, had a papal permit from Boniface VIII, to be absent for three years for the purpose of study (105).

The concern of the bishops for the education of those presented to livings is marked throughout the century and resulted in a steady increase in those who were magistri. The figures reflecting the improvement in standards are revealed in the bishops' registers of those instituted to livings in the diocese. The total number of those who were magistri instituted to parishes during Hugh of Wells' episcopate was 221. However, the overall total is greater as some masters are recorded as having resigned or as having died.

During Grosseteste's episcopate the number of those who were magistri had increased. Clergy with the title of Magister prefixed to their names represent over sixteen per cent of the whole number instituted. There is a total of 276 graduates, showing a considerable increase within the first half of the century.

Out of a total of 2,024 institutions during Gravesend's episcopate, 314 masters were presented; again showing an increase on figures from the previous fifty-nine years. Lincoln Archdeaconry showed the greatest number - 114 out of a total of 669 institutions.

During Oliver Sutton's episcopate the number of masters instituted to livings continued to increase. Out of a total of 1,809 institutions to livings and chapels in the diocese, 269 of those presented

held master's degrees. An analysis of all of these figures will be found in Appendix II.

The climax of this advance may be seen in Boniface VIII's constitution 'Cum ex eo'. In virtue of this, bishops were now at liberty to grant leave of absence for study to the parochial clergy, provided that these proceeded to the subdiaconate within a year of institution, and to the diaconate and priesthood within a year of the termination of the licence, and that suitable priests took over the running of their parishes while they were away at a university.

As L. E. Boyle says of the constitution, 'Cum ex eo', "For it was designed to offer facilities for education to promising young men who might otherwise have been lost to the cura animarum" (106). Although Boniface's constitution of 1298 never really solved the ever-present problem of ignorantia sacerdotum, it was a genuine attempt to provide an educated clergy in the parishes.

NOTES TO PAGES 130-145

- 1 Orme N. *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, London, 1973,
pp. 79, 170. cf. K. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals in the
Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. Manchester, 1968, pp. 187-8.
- 2 Gerald of Wales, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, (Rolls Series), Vol. ii.
pp. 120 ff.
- 3 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 19.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 24.
- 5 Ibid. i. p. 101.
- 6 Ibid. ii. pp. 100, 113, 118, 127, 132, 143, 178.
- 7 Ibid. ii. ^{p. 119} p. 151.
- 8 Ibid. i. p. 156.
- 9 Ibid. ii. p. 29.
- 10 Ibid. op. cit.
- 11 Ibid. ii. p. 142.
- 12 Ibid. ii. p. 57.
- 13 Ibid. i. p. 166.
- 14 Ibid. ii. p. 287.
- 15 Ibid. i. p. 39.
- 16 Ibid. i. p. 81.
- 17 Ibid. iii. p. 114.
- 18 Ibid. ii. p. 111.
- 19 Ibid. i. p. 80.
- 20 Ibid. i. p. 143.
- 21 Ibid. ii. p. 13.
- 22 Ibid. ii. p. 16.
- 23 Ibid. ii. pp. 126, 224.
- 24 Ibid. ii. pp. 157, 167.
- 25 Ibid. iii. p. 37.
- 26 Ibid. iii. p. 39.
- 27 Ibid. op. cit.

- 28 Hugh of Wells, iii. p. 41.
- 29 Ibid. ii. pp. 286, 299, 306.
- 30 Ibid. ii. p. 81
- 31 Ibid. ii. p. 284.
- 32 Ibid. i. p. 216.
- 33 Ibid. ii. pp. 13, 61, 82, 90, 91 156-7; iii. p. 5.
- 34 Ibid. iii. p. 128.
- 35 Ibid. iii. p. 188.
- 36 Ibid. i. p. 80 (bis); pp. 160, 161, 172, 197; ii. pp. 12, 15, 18, 48, 52, 81, 118, 143, 170-1, 288, 315; iii. pp. 13, 34, 41, 50, 114, 128, 131, 191, 206.
- 37 Ibid. i. p. 172; ii, pp. 12, 15, 18.
- 38 Ibid. ii. p. 15.
- 39 Ibid. ii. pp. 52-3.
- 40 Ibid. iii. p. 105.
- 41 Ibid. ii. p. 170.
- 42 Ibid. i. p. 82.
- 43 Ibid. i. p. 54.
- 44 Ibid. i. p. 69.
- 45 Ibid. i. p. 57; ii. pp. 68, 105, 281.
- 46 Ibid. ii. p. 7.
- 47 Ibid. ii. p. 138.
- 48 Ibid. ii. p. 3. In all, during Bishop Wells' episcopate at least 5 per cent of the clergy were found to be deficient in learning, 7 deacons and 31 subdeacons. G. Platts, *Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire*. Lincoln, 1985, p. 265.
- 49 Grosseteste, *Templum Dei*, ed. J. Goering and F.A.C.M. Mantello, 1984.
- 50 Ibid. p. 6.
- 51 L. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law 1200-1400*, Variorum Reprint, London 1981, p. 15.
- 52 Grosseteste, *Epistolae* (RS), xi, p. 52.
- 53 Ibid. op. cit.

- 54 Grosseteste, Rotuli, p. 233.
- 55 Ibid. p. 291.
- 56 Ibid. p. 230.
- 57 Ibid. p. 198.
- 58 Ibid. p. 412.
- 59 Ibid. p. 468.
- 60 Ibid. p. 385.
- 61 Ibid. p. 416.
- 62 Ibid. p. 402.
- 63 Epistolae xvii, pp. 63-5.
- 64 Grosseteste, Rotuli, xix.
- 65 Ibid. lxxii, p. 204.
- 66 Ibid. xlix, p. 144.
- 67 Ibid. lii, p. 151.
- 68 Ibid. lxxiv, p. 241.
- 69 Ibid. p. 173.
- 70 c.f. pp. 20-1
- 71 Brown, Fasciculus, app. 88, p. 253.
- 72 Grosseteste, p. 41.
- 73 Ibid. p. 59.
- 74 Ibid. p. 60.
- 75 Ibid. p. 140.
- 76 Ibid. p. 385.
- 77 Ibid. p. 415.
- 78 Thesis p. 139
- 79 Smalley, Beryl, 'The Biblical Scholar' in 'Robert Grosseteste Scholar and Bishop', ed. D. A. Callus (Oxford 1969), p. 85 and 'The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages', B. Smalley (Oxford 1984), pp. 276-7.

- 80 Grosseteste, pp. 416-7.
- 81 Ibid. pp. 50, 198 (3 entries), 206, 356, 468.
- 82 Ibid. p. 88.
- 83 Ibid. pp. 63-4.
- 84 Ibid. p. 138. All the clergy were expected to know the bishop's constitutions, issued probably between 1240-1
Callus, op. cit. p. 152.
- 85 *Thesis* p. 138
- 86 Ibid. p. 176.
- 87 *Thesis* p. 138
- 88 Ibid. pp. 320-1.
- 89 Gravesend, p. 22.
- 90 Ibid. p. 58.
- 91 Ibid. pp. 62, 282.
- 92 Ibid. p. 88.
- 93 Ibid. p. 349.
- 94 Ibid. p. 138.
- 95 Ibid. p. 213.
- 96 Sutton, i. p. 212. Geoffrey of Compton, priest, the first candidate to be presented to Gautby, was found to be insufficiently literate and resigned.
- 97 Ibid. Stow Roll, memb. 4.
- 98 Ibid. Leicester Roll, memb. 1. It is significant that the patron, a Welshman (Le Waleys) favoured his own countrymen, as William, a clerk in minor orders, a Welshman, succeeded Walter, a Welshman.
- 99 Sutton, iii. p. 40.
- 100 Ibid. iv. pp. 39, 73, 186; v. p. 184, 200; vi. pp. 32, 111.
- 101 Ibid. iv. p. 73.
- 102 Ibid. iii. p. 43.

- 103 Sutton, iii. p. 48.
- 104 Ibid. iii. p. 184.
- 105 Ibid. v. p. 162.
- 106 L. E. Boyle, Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law,
1200-1400, Variorum Reprints (London 1981), VIII, p. 275
'The Constitution "Cum ex eo" of Boniface VIII'.

PAROCHIAL CLERGY AND CELIBACY

The problem of married clergy had given cause for concern to the Church in the twelfth century. In an attempt to end the practice Anselm has issued some Draconian decrees at the Council of Westminster in 1102. The Council enacted that no canon, and no one above the order of subdeacon might marry. Those who were married already were to put away their wives. If a subdeacon, after professing chastity, married, he was to be subjected to the same regulations. A married priest was forbidden to say Mass. If he ventured to do so, no one was to listen to him, and he was moreover to be deprived of all legal privileges. A profession of chastity was to be exacted at ordination to the subdiaconate and to the higher grades, and finally the sons of priests were not to succeed to their fathers' benefices (1).

The practice of celibacy met with limited success, as some clergy still had their hearth women (focarie). Gerald of Wales agreed with his old tutor in Paris, Master Peter Comestor, when he said that 'the ancient enemy has never deceived God's Church in any area so much as he has in this vow of celibacy' (2). Bishop Hugh of Wells tried to enforce this rule of celibacy in his diocese. The parson of Little Dalby presented by the Prioress of and Convent of Langley, was admitted to the cure of souls in his church provided that he first put away his concubine whom he confessed publicly he had kept, and on condition that he lost his church if he co-habit with her again (3). Evidently, the patrons had been lax in finding out more about their presentee on this occasion. He had to enter into a bond before the Bishop's Official that he would obey the bishop's injunction.

Similarly, although less stringently, Roger, described as capellanus, instituted to the church of Eastwell is admonished that henceforth 'he shall not keep the concubine, about whom he has been

reported'. Otherwise he is to be deprived (4).

In 1222 the Provincial Council of Oxford, under the leadership of Archbishop Stephen Langton, stressed the seriousness of disobedience to the church's rule on celibacy. Canon 34 enacted that if beneficed men or men in Holy Orders should presume to retain their partners publicly in their dwelling houses (in hospitibus suis tenere presumant nuptie concubinas), or should elsewhere have public access to them to the public scandal, they should be coerced by the withdrawal of their benefice. The clergy might not leave such partners anything in their wills. Wives also who do not leave their partners should be excluded from the sacraments and the church; if that did not suffice, they should be stricken with the sword of Excommunication; and, lastly the secular arm should be invoked against them (et tunc demum contra eas invocetur brachium seculare) (5).

The results of this decree and those passed earlier may be seen in Hugh of Wells registers: Richard of Newenham, parson of Sandy, undertook to pay fifteen marks if he should cohabit with a woman whom he is said to have married. If this should happen the Archdeacon is to report it by letter to the Bishop (6). Luke de Kaines had to vacate a parsonage of 2s. in Woughton because he had married publicly (7). Richard, chaplain of Great Kimble was deprived by decree in 1227 for the offence of incontinency (propter incontinentiam ea prius sententialiter privato) (8).

Jordan is instituted perpetual vicar of Kirtlington on condition that he behave himself. He had been defamed with regard to a certain woman living in the village. He is admitted subject to the condition that if he be reported as to her or any other woman, the Bishop shall deprive him of his vicarage (9). Alan, Vicar of

Ashwell (Herts.) who had been presented by a lay patron, was obliged to execute a bond undertaking to pay thirty marks if he again co-habit with his former mistress Annora (10).

In his Constitutions addressed to 'the rectors, vicars and parish priests' of his diocese, Grosseteste followed his predecessor in his attitude towards the church's teaching on celibacy. The lives of the clergy are to be pure. They are not to be married 'et si quis, antequam esset in sacris ordinibus constitutus, uxorem duxerit, Beneficium ecclesiasticum non tenet, neque in sacris ordinibus si eos postea acceperit, ministrare praesumat'(11).

In accordance with these sentiments, Richard de Land previously presented to Wispington by William de Land, confessed that he was married and resigned. He is to receive five marks annually with the consent of the patron and the new incumbent (12). In the case of Roger who was also married and formerly held a mediety in East Keal, he is to receive three marks annually with the proviso 'quoad secularem habitum portaverit, et ecclesiastici beneficii expers extiterit suo perpetuo nomine simplicis beneficii percipiendis'(13).

Hugh Murdak, who does not seem to have been adequate in the first place, as he had to have a master and be examined within a year on his institution to Ashton, on the presentation of Henry Murdak (14), crowned his achievements with misbehaviour with a parishioner (propter incestum cum filia sua spirituali commissum) and was deprived (15).

Several clergy, on being granted pensions on retirement or for any other reason, are warned that they will forfeit them if they should marry or accept another benefice or join a religious order (16).

In Gravesend's register there is the unusual entry concerning the church of Frisby which is vacant "eo quod dom. Johannes de Staynegr' ultimus custos ejusdem miles est et uxoratus" (17).

Geoffrey de la Mare former rector of St. Nicholas, Barton le Cley, was deprived because he was married (18). The vacancy at Hatley Cockaigne (Beds.) was caused by the marriage of Geoffrey de Sandiacre (19). Master Roger de Boudon was purged of his incontinence with Mabel de Langton for a period of three years, as witnessed by five attestors. This is the only instance available in this register of anyone being given an opportunity to redeem himself (20).

On the whole the clergy of the diocese seem to have observed the church's rules on celibacy fairly faithfully during Oliver Sutton's episcopate, as only two references are made to vacancies in parishes because the former incumbents had publicly married: Master Geoffrey Russell had publicly married a certain woman of Pinchbeck and so either resigned or was deprived (21); Sewalus qui eam ultimo tenuit (the church of Shelton) matrimonium carnale sollempnizavit in facie ecclesie so the church was declared vacant (22).

Throughout the century, as has been seen, attempts were made to enforce the church's rule on celibacy. How far patrons were aware of their presentees' state is not known. It is possible that they turned a blind eye to those who were married, and only the evidence of fellow clergy or possibly parishioners made it known to the bishop. Clearly throughout the century the rule of the Church was emphasized again and again in Synod and Council. All the preceding legislation against married clergy was reiterated in Cardinal Ottobuono's Legatine Council in 1265 at London or Westminster (23). Archbishop Pecham in his Provincial Council in 1279 at Reading also referred to Ottobuono's canon 'contra concubinarie' and he ordered that archdeacons should read it at their visitations and see that it be read by the rural deans at their chapters (the laity being excluded) (24).

The legislation is itself a witness to the existence of the practices which it tried to suppress. There is no doubt that some of the clergy of the diocese were married men, who in some cases lived openly with their wives in their dwelling houses (hospitiis); that some refused to give them up in spite of repeated synodical decrees; that those clergy who were not married turned a blind eye to those who were. The records, as has been seen, reveal comparatively few cases of wholesale disobedience in this matter, but this could of course be an argument from silence.

In contrast to those who found the rule of celibacy difficult to keep were those who found it easy. These were the few who forsook their parochial cures for the religious life. Three during Hugh of Wells episcopate joined religious orders: Stephen, former parson of Broughton who joined an unnamed order (25); and W., the last rector of Cosgrove, who joined the Friars Minor (26), and Hugh de Northgivell, a former vicar of Great Barford, who 'habitu suscepit monachalem' (27). Master E. de Melles, who formerly held a mediety of the church of Welbourn, joined the crusades (28) as did Philip de Panton, instituted to the church of Ropsley (29). H. de Sapton will care for the parish during his absence, and his vicarage is safeguarded.

During Grosseteste's episcopate the number of those offering themselves for the religious life increased. The Order of Preaching Friars claimed two parish clergy: Adam, the former vicar of Luton (30) and Thomas, formerly vicar of Hook Norton (31). Six others are described as having entered religion, but no further details are given. Thus, Robert, the former rector of Potterspury, William, vicar of Caddington, J., formerly vicar of Streatley, Humphrey, formerly rector of Astwick Chapelry, Nicholas, rector of a mediety of Turvey, and Henry of Waltham, formerly rector of Tyringham, all gave up the life

of a secular for that of a religious (32).

During Gravesend's episcopate the number of those offering themselves for the religious life increased even more: a total of seventeen clergy vacated their parishes 'per ingressum religionis'. The Friars Minor claimed Robert de Cava of Folkingham, Master Hugh of Thurlby, formerly of Horbling, Thomas, son of Dom. Thomas of Malton from Saltfleetby, and Peter, who is described as having 'long ago entered the Order of Friars Minor' (33). The Order of Preachers received Henry de Chyshall from Wrangle and Ralph de Wyfordby from Wyfordby (34). William de Warewik, on becoming a Templar, 'completo etiam anno probationis precedentis rectoris religione suscepta' (35). Others are described as having entered a religious order: John of Honington, Alexander of Wellingore, William de Well, former rector of St. Michael Major, Stamford (36), and Thomas of Boddington who had entered religion and not returned after a year of probation (37). Geoffrey of Branston (Leics.) and Peter, formerly of Caversfield, also entered a religious order (38). While others are variously described: Richard of Tetford as having entered the Order of Friars of the Sack (39) and Robert of Hook Norton too, under its other name of the Friars of the Penance of Jesus Christ (de Penitencia Jesus Christi) (40). John, the last vicar of Greetham (Rutland), 'statum suum mutans habitum canonicorum dicte domus S. Sepulcri recepit' who had originally presented him to the vicarage (41). Godard, who last held the chapel at Petsoe, 'having become an Austin Friar, as rumour testified, had withdrawn under excommunication and had not returned to his cure when summoned' (42).

Eleven seculars gave up the life of a parish priest for that of the stricter life of a religious during Oliver Sutton's episcopate. Reginald Braybouef of Claxby by Normanby, Geoffrey, formerly vicar of Threckingham, John of Aylton, former vicar of Maxey, Master Stephen of Codnor former rector of Tackley, Simon of Wells, former rector of

Lower Heyford, all joined the Order of Preachers (43). Others joined the Franciscans: Robert of Creaton, John of Cogenhoe, formerly rector of Castle Ashby, and Augustine, formerly of Roxton, followed the rule of St. Francis of Assisi (44). While Hugh of Tydd entered Legbourne Priory, which was at that time a double house for Cistercian monks and nuns (45). Jordan de la Pomereye formerly of South Stoke also joined the Cistercian Order (46). Master Robert of Barton, formerly of Snarford, had become an Augustinian canon at Elsham (47).

NOTES TO PAGES 151-157

- 1 Lea, H.C., A History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church,
Vol. i, p. 332.
- 2 Gerald of Wales, Gemma Ecclesiastica (R S), Dist. ii, Chap. 6.
- 3 Hugh of Wells, i. p.87.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 97.
- 5 Councils and Synods II, Part 1, p. 117.
- 6 Hugh of Wells, i. p. 96.
- 7 Ibid. ii. pp. 55-6.
- 8 Ibid. ii. p. 72.
- 9 Ibid. i. p. 148.
- 10 Ibid. i. p. 77.
- 11 Grosseteste, Epistolae lii. p. 157.
- 12 Grosseteste, Rotuli, p. 28.
- 13 Ibid. p. 44.
- 14 Ibid. p. 198.
- 15 Ibid. p. 231.
- 16 Ibid. e.g. : pp. 140-1, 187, 361, 362.
- 17 Gravesend, p. 93.
- 18 Ibid. p. 192.
- 19 Ibid. p. 202.
- 20 Ibid. p. 157.
- 21 Sutton, ii. p. 91.
- 22 Ibid. Bedford Roll, membrane 3.
- 23 Councils & Synods II, Part ii, p. 725.
- 24 Ibid. II. Part ii, p. 851.

'Constitutio autem edita super concubinariis in concilio domini
Octoboni in quatuor capitulis ruralibus et principalibus, exclusis
tamen laicis, replicetur'.

- 25 Hugh of Wells, ii. p. 101.
- 26 Ibid. ii. p. 136.
- 27 Ibid. iii. p. 20.
- 28 Ibid. iii. p. 99.
- 29 Ibid. iii. p. 100.
- 30 Grosseteste, p. 329.
- 31 Ibid. p. 485.
- 32 Ibid. pp. 221, 332, 334, 337, 338, 383
- 33 Gravesend, pp. 79, 80, 84, 133.
- 34 Ibid. pp. 70, 165.
- 35 Ibid. p. 82.
- 36 Ibid. pp. 2, 12, 45.
- 37 Ibid. p. 128.
- 38 Ibid. pp. 158, 236.
- 39 Ibid. p. 18.
- 40 Ibid. pp. 222 and Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*,
London, 1953, p. 206.
- 41 Ibid. p. 109.
- 42 Ibid. p. 256 and note on p. 346.
- 43 Sutton, i. p. 180; ii. p. 76; Oxford Folio 335^V, 337^V
- 44 Ibid. ii. pp. 33, 59; Bedford Roll, memb. 3.
- 45 Ibid. i. p. 92; Knowles and Hadcock, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
- 46 Ibid. Oxford Folio, 336^V
- 47 Ibid. i. p. 92.

PAROCHIAL AND PRIVATE CHAPELS

Patronage extended to parochial chapels often serving small communities. In the Leicester matricula of Hugh of Wells' register details are given of a large number. The deanery of Guthlaxton had 15, the deanery of Sparkenhoe 28, Arkley 14, Goscote 21, Gartree 23 and in Framland deanery there were 10 (1). There were resident chaplains in forty-three of these chapels, and the rest were served from the parish church for two or three days a week.

The chapels of Sutton in the parish of Broughton Ashley and Bilston in the parish of Norton and the chapel of Hemington in the parish of Lockington were all served as an act of kindness (de gratia) on the part of the incumbent (2). Two churches, Noseley and Carlton, both had medieties in the chapel of Illston so they provided a priest to serve it on three days a week, with the arrangement that Noseley would provide him for one year and Carlton Curliou in the following year (scilicet uno anno per Nousel, et alio anno per Carleton). (3)

Others were not so well served: Barton which came under the church of Nailstone was served once a year by the mother church (4), as was Little Sheepy and another unnamed chapel by the mother church of Sheepy (Leics.) (5). Others had more freedom: Cotes, for example, in the parish of Prestwold habentem omnia sacramentalis et sepulturam, et capellandum residentem (6). The latter had to be presented to the parson by his advocate, Robert Furmentyn and had to pay to the mother church 'ii cereos viijd et j libram incensi illa capella' (7). The resident chaplain of the chapel of Radcliffe Culey in the parish of Sheepy was required to pay synodals of 2s. (8). Gaddesby also had omnia que matrix ecclesia habet et respondet pro omnibus synodalibus (9).

Many chapels were supported by endowments. Mrs. Owen has shown that

landlord and villeins often co-operated to build and endow a chapel, particularly in the previous century (10). At the village of Osgodby in the parish of Kirkby St. Andrew (Lincs.), parishioners were obliged to provide a chaplain with six loads of wheat and one of oats each year and to find him a house, unless lodgings could be found in the village (hospitari possit infra Osofby) (11).

Where churches were appropriated to religious houses the monks or nuns were required to endow dependent chapels as well as a vicarage. The nuns of St. Michael, Stamford, were obliged to provide a chaplain at 'Burghelle' as well as the vicarage at St. Martin, Stamford, in which the chapel stood (dicte moniales onus illius capelle sustinebunt) (12).

However, Bishop Grosseteste envisaged the vicar of Pitstone, who was presented by the parson Henry Neyrmuyt and with the consent of Milo Neyrmuyt who was patron, as being responsible for the expenses of the mother church and its parochial chapel 'honeste faciens deserviri' (13). The perpetual vicar of Hanslope, Robert de Hanney, has also 'sustinebit solummodo onera ministrorum in eadem ecclesia et in capella de Castelthorpe ministrantium' (14).

In 1276 and 1277 Bishop Gravesend had to order the vicars of Louth and Corringham to pay the stipends of their deacons (15). The latter served the chapels of Somerby, Jolthorpe and Tonsal. Gravesend was particularly assiduous in providing in his decrees for the maintenance of chaplains, to be found by the vicars, in the chapels of hamlets dependent upon parish churches.

The church of Rothley, for example, appropriated by Gravesend's predecessor, Grosseteste in 1241, to its patrons, the Knights Templar, was head of a parish distributed over a scattered area, with chapels in five separate hamlets: Gaddesby, Cayham, Grimston, Wartnaby, Wyckham (16). The vicar is to have a deacon and another suitable clerk to serve

personally in the office of a priest, and all the chapels are to be served by single chaplains. In the entry concerning the vicarage at Gretton it is stated that the vicarage consists 'in toto altaragio ipsius ecclesie de Gretton et capellarum de Kirkeby et de Dodington' (17), and 'respondebit eciam predictus vicarius capellanis in dictis capellis more solito ministraturis de suis stipendiis' (18).

Similar arrangements were made in the parish of Hambleton where the 'vicarius vero providebit de sacerdote ydoneo qui deserviet capelle de Bramston et continue ibi residebit' (19). At Nassington in Northamptonshire the vicar 'per se et capellanos ac clericos ydoneos et necessarios ecclesie matrici et capellis suis sumptibus faciat deserviri' (20). At Harrowden the mother church and its chapels are to be served by a vicar and other suitable ministers (21). Claybrook too has a similar ordination but complicated because of the rival claims of a religious house, and a lay patron. The vicar, who is to have a manse 'et totum altaragium totius parrochie percipiat et habeat nomine vicarie perpetuo durature, que omnia onera ordinaria predictae ecclesie et capellis ipsius incumbuntia' (22). Among the burdens to be sustained by the vicar was the provision of chaplains to serve the dependent chapels. The newly instituted vicar of Packington is also required 'faciet deserviri capelle predictae (i.e. Snipton) per capellanum ydoneum' (23).

The church of Saltby and its chapel of Bescaby are to be served by the vicar 'et socium sacerdotem aliosque ministros idoneos'. Proceeds from four virgates of land in a field in Bescaby and a toft and five acres of meadowland, plus sixty shillings from the Prior and Convent of Drax, together with 'omnimodis oblationibus et mortuariis, ac decimis lane agnorum et lactis, et omnibus aliis decimis et obventionibus minoribus ad altaragium spectantibus, tam in matrice ecclesia quam in capella de Bescaldeby' (24).

Similarly, at Great Paxton its chapels are to be served by suitable ministers as at the prebendal church of Leighton Buzzard where it is stated that the vicar, apart from the usual burdens incumbent upon him 'etiam inveniet suit sumptibus tres sacerdotes ita quod unus eorum vicem diaconi suppleat apud Leyghton, et per alterum ipsorum capelle de Stanibrigg faciat deserviri. Idem insuper vicarius capellano deservienti capelle de Elendon viginti solidos conferet annuatim. Et capellano ministranti in capella de Bilindon similiter conferet tantum' (25)

A similar arrangement was made in the church of St. Peter in the East, Oxford, which is to be served together with its chapels of the Holy Cross and Wolvercot. However, whereas the vicar in Grosseteste's time was required to pay ten marks annually to the rector (26), in the new arrangement under Gravesend it is stated that 'decem autem marcas quas consuevit reddere Robertus ultimus vicarius rectori illius ecclesie remisit sibi dictus dominus Bego suo tempore' (27).

The vicar of the prebendal church of Langford (Oxon.) must also have two suitable chaplains and one clerk, as one priest is needed to serve the chapel of Radcot with cure of souls, and another to celebrate (Mass) in the chapel of Little Farendon for three days in the week or more. However, the prebendary has to approve of them first (sacerdotes vero quos vicarius in dictis ministeriis secum, providerit moraturos prebendario dicte ecclesie presentabit, ut demum cum ab eo fuerint approbati officiis prepenantur supradictis) (28).

When ordaining a vicarage in Charlbury (Oxon.), Bishop Oliver Sutton treated the vicar fairly. He had to provide for services in the chapel of Shorthampton on three days a week and for the chapel of Kidlington in which one parochial chaplain together with a clerk resided. The church of Charlbury also had two chaplains and houses are to be provided for them (29). The vicar is to have 65 acres of arable land

of the demesne of Charlbury and all its appurtenances. The mutual payment of tithes, i.e. by the vicar and the appropriators who were the Abbot and Convent of Eynsham, was waived. However, the vicar is required to provide all other necessities (i.e. books, ornaments). He has also to pay 'sinodalia et Letare Jerusalem' (dues on the fourth Sunday in Lent) (30).

In addition to parochial chapels there were the various manorial chapels and chantries in the diocese. In the charter rolls of Hugh of Wells appear licences to maintain chantries in private houses. 'A chantry was simply a duty - that of celebrating Mass regularly with special prayers for the souls of any persons, usually but not necessarily, deceased, whom the founder might specify' (31). Sometimes, of course, a chantry was combined with a private chapel in a house, as will be shown.

Permission was given by licence by bishop Hugh of Wells to Sir William de Insula to have a chantry in his private chapel which he is allowed to erect in his manor house in Brampton Ash. The permission of the rector, Thomas, and the patrons of the mother church of Brampton, the Prior and Convent of St. Neots, was obtained and the rights of the mother church of Brampton were safeguarded (32).

In granting a licence for a chantry in the chapel of the manor house of Newbold, the bishop laid down the rules that Ralph de Normanville and his family were to attend the parish church of Catesby at Christmas, on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Easter and at Whitsun, and on the patronal festival of the church. Permission of the vicar of Catesby and the patrons, the Prioress and Nuns of Catesby, had first been given for the erection of this chapel with its chantry and for a chaplain to serve it. At the death of Ralph de Normanville's wife the privilege of the private chapel was to cease (33). Similar rules were made in the confirmation grant of a licence for a chantry in the chapel of Polebrooke (34).

The agreement between Baldwin de Ver and the Abbey of Crowland about the erection of a private chapel in Great Addington is much more detailed. Baldwin and his family are permitted to hear Mass and the Divine Office in the chapel, but they are to receive no other sacrament, except that they may receive the bread and water of blessing (panis benedictus et aqua benedicta) (35). The latter appears to have been the 'holy loaf', usually provided by the charity of someone of the laity. This was cut in pieces and a piece given to all who came up to receive it: the authority for this practice, says Cutts, 'was no doubt the primitive love feast (agape). When it was not the custom for the laity to communicate, this was given as a sort of representation of and substitute for the consecrated bread'. Licences to erect private chapels were also granted by Bishop Grosseteste, and more than a dozen were granted to applicants from different parts of the diocese (36).

They are fairly detailed, and in all of them the rights of the parish church are safeguarded, i.e. there may be no bell, or font. The lord and his family, as at South Kelsey must visit the parish church for all the major feast days of the church's year, nisi per infirmitatem aut aeris intemperiem aut hospitum magnorum reverentiam aut aliam rationabilem causam et manifestam predictis festis fuerint absentes. Any offerings made in the chapel must be paid to the parish church (37). All sacraments other than these may not be celebrated in the chapel.

In only one case is the reason for issuing the licence assigned: at Hatfield the parish church was some distance away from the petitioner, Walter de Godarrevill's house. The road by which it was reached was, owing to floods, difficult to travel, especially in the winter months (38).

During Gravesend's episcopate Sir William Engleby made a gift of 160 marks towards the building of a chapel at Langworth, near Barlings Abbey and the maintenance in it of a chaplain who was to celebrate Mass

daily for the souls of Sir William, his two wives Mabel and Constance, William his son, his parents and all the rest of the family. The chaplain is to be supplied by the abbot and convent (39).

In the chapel of St. Leonard at Holmø, within the parish of Beckingham, we have the unusual example of a chapel, founded by the lord of the manor within the precincts of his curia, and yet erected into a separate freehold benefice. It was endowed and founded by Gerard de Furnivall to provide a daily Mass for the souls of the founder and his family with the provision unius presbiteri, who is to be presented to the bishop for institution. There are no clauses safeguarding the rights of the parish church and this must have been approved of by the rector, as he (Master Adam of Beckingham) is one of the witnesses of the deed of foundation (40).

Gravesend's episcopate is noteworthy for the increase of licences granted for chantries in parish churches. Chantries were endowed at Barton on Humber, Benington, Careby, Flixborough, Rushton All Saints, Lubenham and Silsoe (41).

The chantry at St. Mary's Church, Barton, was at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr and the priest who must be resident is to pray for the souls of the donor, Richard Adinot and his wife Mathilda, and the rest of the family, living and dead, every day of the year. To the support of the chantry chaplain endowments were made from a number of sources, including 15 acres of arable land in Barwa's field, and 20 acres of meadowland in Barwa's meadow, 13 acres of meadowland in Goxhill, together with various rents. The right of presentation to the chantry was given to the archdeacon of Lincoln and his successors (42).

In 1276 Thomas Bray founded a chantry at the altar of St. Margaret and St. Katherine in the south aisle of St. Leonard's Chapel, Silsoe, dependent upon the church of Flitton, appropriated to

the Abbess and Convent of Elstow. A chaplain was duly instituted with the approval of the patrons and the perpetual vicar of Flitton and their rights were guaranteed (43).

Records of private chapels and chantries founded during Oliver Sutton's episcopate are much more detailed. The right to establish a private chapel was often sought by people who lived in isolated manor houses away from the parish church or who were devout but ill. A licence was granted to Adam of Arden to have a private chapel in his manor house at Gayton since the road to the parish church was long and difficult during winter (44). Similarly, licences were granted to lords of the manor at Killingholme (45), Claxthorpe (46), Stockwith (47), Chysebech (48), Wootton (49), Long Whatton (50). In the case of Sir Hugh de Bibbewrth the grant of a licence was made for a private chapel at his manor of Bibbewrth because the road to the parish church was humpy, stony, and covered with mud in winter, and that Sir Hugh's wife could not attend church during her pregnancy (quod est montuosum, petrosum et pro magna parte lutosum in tempore yemali, et impedimenta alia qui tempore gravidationis uxoris dicti militis quid alias contingentia) (51).

A licence was granted to Ralph Moryn of Harrold to re-open his private chapel granted by Bishop Gravesend to his mother, Maud Moryn, because he himself was in poor health and of a devout temperament (52). Others in poor health were also allowed to have private chapels at Raithby, Eymington, Weekley, Winteringham (53).

Walter of Molesworth was granted the licence to have a private chapel in his house because his mother was old and frail and his wife was very fat (ac uxor tua carnis sarcina plurimum onerata). The grant was to be nullified if Walter did not observe the usual rules governing such chapels (54). Sir John Ridel was greatly vexed by the gout and

was allowed to have a chapel at his manor at Wilden (55), and John de Bridesthorn, because he was more than sixty years old and burdened with secular cares was granted the right to have a private chapel at Adderbury (56).

The rules laid down for these chapels were precise. A chapel had to be 'decens et honestum' and the permission of the patron and the incumbent of the parish had to be obtained. Often it was specified that the lord of the manor and his family should attend the parish church on certain specified feast days. William of Killingholme for example had to attend the church in festis omnium sanctorum, Sancti Dionysii, Natalis Domini, Pasche, Ascensionis Domini, Pentecostis, Sancte Trinitatis, Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, Purificationis Beate Marie et singulis aliis festis virginis ejusdem necnon singulis diebus dominicis et solemonitatibus majoris estatis ecclesiam predictam visitent (57).

As has been shown (supra) the erection of a steeple or bell on such chapels was not allowed so that the parish church be not defrauded of the offerings made at mass by the attending of wayfarers at the private chapel.

In addition to the setting up of private chapels numerous chantries were established in parish churches during Sutton's episcopate. A chantry had been endowed at Wellingore by William son of Robert of Newton whereby daily Mass should be said at Our Lady's altar for the souls of the founder, his predecessors, kinsmen and benefactors and for all the faithful departed. The successors of the first priest, Richard of Newton, would be presented by the vicar of Wellingore and several others (six men) or their heirs (58).

William Trussell appears to have combined a private chapel with a chantry at Marston Trussell. There were two chaplains, who

lived in one house and had a communal provision of six marks of annual rent and of one carucate of land. One was to say a Mass of the Blessed Virgin each day, and the other to say Mass on behalf of the ancestors of the patron of the chapel (59).

Serious attempts were made to secure an honest livelihood for all those appointed to a chantry. Examples of such care may be seen in the endowments made to set up a chantry at Titchmarsh and at Easton on the Hill. In the former Sir John Lovel endowed the chapel of St. Stephen at Titchmarsh with an annual revenue of more than ten marks. The chantry priest was endowed with lands and rents and with the service of four villeins and their families. The advowson was to remain in the hands of Sir John Lovel and his heirs; failing them it was to go to the bishop of Lincoln or the archdeacon of Northampton.

The chantry priest was required to celebrate Mass daily for the souls of the founder, his wife Matilda and the family, and all the faithful departed. The provision of furnishings and lights when necessary was the duty of the incumbent (60).

The chantry at Easton-on-the-Hill was endowed by Master Henry Simpson, the rector, for the souls of himself, his parents, his predecessors and successors in the office of rector, and Queen Eleanor of Castile. An inquisition by the official of the archdeacon of Northampton showed that the rector had endowed the chantry with lands in Easton-on-the-Hill worth more than six marks a year and had obtained licence from the king to alienate in mortmain. The duties of the chantry priest were laid down in full: he is to celebrate Mass daily 'cum placebo et dirige ac commendatione pro mortuis singulis excepto die Parasceves'. He is to have the following books: 'a portiforium of the use of Sarum, one missal, one psaltery, beside the portiforium' and a gilt chalice valued at 10 shillings, and a vestment with apparels and cruets all of which he is to take care of during his period of office as chantry priest.

The advowson was to remain in the hands of Master Henry during his lifetime and thereafter in the hands of the bishop of Lincoln, and, failing him, it was to pass first to the dean and chapter of Lincoln and then to the archdeacon of Northampton or his official. Misbehaviour on the part of the chantry priest would mean instant removal by the patron and forfeiture of all the crops which he had sown in that year. If he resigned he was to have half his crops and if he died this was to go to his assigns (61).

Patrons of chantries took great care to secure their grants in perpetuity. As has been seen in the case of Sir John Lovel and Master Henry Sampson in the above chantries that arrangements were made to secure suitable candidates if they or their successors should fail to make presentations. This care is also seen the protection of the legal documents drawn up to secure the chantries. Sir John Lovel has his grant drawn up in the form of a triple indenture of which one copy remained with him, one with the incumbent, of the chantry and one in the treasury of Lincoln cathedral. A copy was included in the episcopal register and sealed with the bishop's seal.

Similarly, Master Henry Sampson obtained the bishop's *inspeximus* of the document founding the chantry and the royal licence to alienate in mortmain and of all the relevant charters concerning the endowments of land attached to the chantry. In 1292 Oliver Sutton gave his approval for a perpetual chantry in Stathern having inspected the foundation charter of Richard de Bois Roard setting up the chantry in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and for the souls of Simon de Bois Roard, his wife, Simon their son, the souls of all the faithful departed and himself (62). The same safeguards may be seen: the charter was in cyrograph; the bishop inspected the licence from the King to alienate in mortmain and the licence from Lady Isabel de Ros to alienate land which was held in fee from her. The official of the Archdeacon of

Leicester reported in a letter that he had inquired into all the circumstances concerning the chantry and had arranged for the revenues of the chaplain to be increased.

Patrons also showed their generosity in establishing market chapels, for daily mass was the expectation of any large community. Robert Lupus c. 1233 presented Geoffrey de Iuda to the chapel in the Market Place at Castle Carlton (63). It is thought that this chapel was set up there c. 1230 (64).

A most unusual concession was granted to Master Matthew of Dunstable, priest, who was allowed to have Mass celebrated in a chapel which he had founded as a sanctuary against robbers near Biddenham bridge, without prejudice to the parish church of Bromham or its patrons the Prior and Convent of Caldwell (65). Again the usual safeguards were observed so that the parish church be not defrauded, and a copy of the letter under the archdeacon's seal, was to be given to Master Matthew to keep among the records of Bromham church .

NOTES TO PAGES 160-170

- 1 Hugh of Wells, i. pp. 238-272.
- 2 Ibid. i. p. 241, 'et habet capellam de Sutton quo non consuevit
deserviri nisi de gratia'.
i. p. 249, 'et habet capellam Bildeson que non habet
servitium nisi de gratia persone'.
i. p. 254, (Lockington), 'et habet capellam Heminton, que
non debet deserviri nisi de gratia'.
- 3 Ibid. i. p. 263.
- 4 Ibid. i. p. 247.
- 5 Ibid. i. p. 249.
- 6 Ibid. i. p. 255.
- 7 Ibid. op. cit.
- 8 Ibid. i. p. 249.
- 9 Ibid. i. p. 259. c.f. Gravesend pp. 162-3 where Gaddesby is
listed as one of five chapels attached to Rothley.
The Templars are the patrons.
- 10 Owen, D. M., Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, p. 6.
- 11 Hugh of Wells, iii. p. 57.
- 12 Ibid. iii. p. 65.
- 13 Grosseteste, pp. 348-9.
- 14 Ibid. pp. 383-4.
- 15 Gravesend, pp. 70, 95-6.
- 16 Ibid. Introduction, p. xxii, pp. 162-4.
- 17 Ibid. p. 103.
- 18 Ibid. p. 295, additional note for p. 103.
- 19 Ibid. p. 123.
- 20 Ibid. p. 131.
- 21 Ibid. pp. 133-4.
- 22 Ibid. pp. 139-40.

- 23 Gravesend, pp. 149-50.
- 24 Ibid. pp. 161-2.
- 25 Ibid. p. 180 (Gt. Paxton), p. 211 (Leighton Buzzard).
- 26 Grosseteste pp. 450-1.
- 27 Gravesend, p. 215.
- 28 Ibid. pp. 232-3.
- 29 Sutton, Oxford Folio 344^v and 345.
- 30 Ibid. op. cit.
- 31 Ibid. ii. Introduction p. xv.
- 32 Hugh of Wells, ii. pp. 202-3.
- 33 Ibid. ii. pp. 228-9.
- 34 Ibid. ii. pp. 255-6.
- 35 Ibid. ii. pp. 259-61. 'Panis benedictus et aqua benedictus'.
E. L. Cutts, 'Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England' (London 1898), pp. 235-6.
Daniel Rock in 'The Church of Our Fathers' (ed. G.W. Hart and W. H. Frere) (London, 1905), vol. i. pp. 110-111, confirms the practice of the distribution of the 'eulogia' or 'blessed bread' after Sunday Mass. It was blessed and cut with a special knife for distribution among the people, as an emblem of that brotherly love and union which ought always to bind Christians together. Presumably the water was needed to wash it down.
- 36 Grosseteste, pp. 12, 25-6, 37-9, 173-5, 208, 239-40, 258-60, 261, 265-6, 349-51, 365, 435-6, 455, 472-5.
- 37 Ibid. p. 12.
- 38 Ibid. p. 258.
- 39 Gravesend, pp. 24-6.
- 40 Ibid. pp. 39-41.
- 41 Ibid. pp. 29, 46, 55, 59, 111, 151, 204.
- 42 Ibid. pp. 29-30.
- 43 Ibid. pp. 204-8.
- 44 Sutton, iii. p. 47.

- 45 Sutton, iii. p. 123.
- 46 Ibid. iv. p. 37.
- 47 Ibid. iv. p. 38.
- 48 Ibid. iv. p. 57.
- 49 Ibid. iv. pp. 67-8.
- 50 Ibid. iv. p. 124-5.
- 51 Ibid. iv. p. 156.
- 52 Ibid. iii. p. 64.
- 53 Ibid. iv. p. 14; v. pp. 117, 135; vi. p. 55.
- 54 Ibid. iv. pp. 46-7.
- 55 Ibid. vi. p. 23.
- 56 Ibid. iv. p. 146.
- 57 Ibid. iii. p. 123.
- 58 Ibid. i. pp. 121-2.
- 59 Ibid. ii. pp. 33-4.
- 60 Ibid. ii. pp. 112-3.
- 61 Ibid. ii. pp. 120-29.
- 62 Ibid. iii. pp. 201-3.
- 63 Hugh of Wells, iii. pp. 205-6.
- 64 D. M. Owen, op. cit. p. 19.
- 65 Sutton, v. p. 197.

A P P E N D I X I

ALIEN PRIORIES AND CELLS WITH RIGHTS OF PATRONAGE

Lincolnshire:

- Bennington, Long - Alien Priory, Cistercian, founded 1163 by Ralf de Fougères.
- Bonby - Alien Priory, Benedictine, founded before 1216. A grange of St. Premund.
- Burwell - Alien Priory, Benedictine, founded early 12th century by Ansgot de Burwell. Cell of La Sauve Majeure near Bordeaux.
- Cammeringham - Alien Priory. Premonstratensian, founded before 1192 by Robert de Haya. Cell of Blanchelande, Normandy.
- Covenham - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded by William I, Cell of St. Carileph (Le Mans). There were probably never more than one or two monks here. Sold to Kirkstead Abbey in 1303.
- Haugham - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded before 1086 by Hugh, Earl of Chester. Cell of St. Sever (Coutances) acquired by priory of St. Anne, Coventry.
- Hough - Alien Priory or Cell, Augustinian, founded c.1163. Cell of Notre-Dame du Voeu or St. Mary de Voto (Cherbourg). After the suppression it was granted to Mountgrace Fr.
- Limber, Great - Alien Grange (?), Cistercian, founded before 1157 by Richard de Humet. Cell or grange of Amay-sur-Odon.
- Minting - Alien Priory, Benedictine, founded before 1129 by Ranulf, Earl of Chester. Cell of St. Benoit-sur-Loire (alias Fleury) of some importance. Granted to Mount Grace Priory in 1421.

Lincolnshire: (cont.)

- Ravendale, West - Alien Cell, Premonstratensian, founded 1202 by Alan, son of Earl Henry of Brittany. Cell of Beauport Abbey, Brittany.
- Willoughton - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded c. 1140 by Empress Maud. Cell of St. Nicholas, Angers. It was a small cell with a prior and possibly a companion.
- Wilsford - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded 1135-54 by Hugh Wake. Cell of Bec Hellouin.

Rutland:

- Edith Weston - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded c. 1114. Cell dependent on St. Georges-de-Boscherville. There were never more than two or three monks here.

Northamptonshire:

- Everdon - Alien Grange (?), Benedictine, founded c. 1100. Cell of Bernay Abbey. Everdon was sometimes considered a parcel of Creeting St. Mary (Tanner T. 'Notitia Monastica').
- Weedon Bec - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded after 1126. Cell of Bec-Hellouin. The house was for a prior and possibly one or two monks. It was probably never conventual.
- Weedon Lois (Pinkney) - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded during reign of Henry I. Cell of St. Lucien, Beauvais. This was a small cell for a prior and possibly one or two monks.

Leicestershire:

- Hinckley - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded before 1173. Cell of Mire Abbey.

Huntingdonshire:

- St. Neots - Alien Priory, Benedictine, founded originally c. 972-5. Destroyed by Danes in 1010. Monks continued to reside there until it was refounded c. 1082, as a priory dependant on Bec-Hellouin. It became independent in 1412.

Oxfordshire:

- Cogges - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded 1103. Cell of Fécamp Abbey. There was a prior and one to two monks at most.
- Minster Lovell - Alien Cell, Benedictine, founded 1200-6, Cell of Ivry. It appears to have been a very small cell, probably for two or three monks at most.

Buckinghamshire:

- Tickford - Alien Priory, Benedictine, founded 1100. Cell of Marmoutier. A charter of Bishop Robert de Chesney confirmed to the monks of Tickford a large number of churches on the diocese and it contained provisions that the monks should choose and present to the bishop vicars, to whom they should secure a vicarage therein. This is valuable evidence of efforts made to secure proper provisions for vicars even before the Lateran Councils of 1179 and 1215.
- Newton Longville - Alien Priory Cell, Cluniac, founded c. 1080. Cell of Longuville.

A P P E N D I X I I

NUMBERS OF CLERGY WHO WERE MAGISTRI

HUGH OF WELLS' EPISCOPATE - 1209-1235

<u>Archdeaconry</u>	<u>No. of Presentations</u>	<u>No. of Masters</u>	<u>Reference</u> Register
All archdeaconries before 1219	225	28	i. pp. 1-130.
All archdeaconries in 10th year of episcopate	93	15	i. pp. 131-176
Stow	84	8	i. pp. 211-237
Oxford	147	17	ii. pp. 1-47
Buckingham	133	10	ii. pp. 48-97
Northampton	245	41	ii. pp. 98-182
Leicester	129	22	ii. pp. 273-327
Bedford	105	13	iii. pp. 1-32
Huntingdon	64	11	iii. pp. 33-54
Lincoln	525	56	iii. pp. 55-92 iii. pp. 97-218

The total number of presentations from c. 1209-35
was 1,750 of whom 221 were magistri, i.e. about 12.6%

ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S EPISCOPATE - 1235-1253

			Grosseteste Reg.
Lincoln	483	88	pp. 1-132
Stow	86	13	pp. 133-157
Northampton	313	62	pp. 158-249
Huntingdon	140	23	pp. 250-300
Bedford	114	12	pp. 301-339
Buckingham	134	17	pp. 340-384
Leicester	190	29	pp. 385-442
Oxford	187	32	pp. 443-514

The total number of presentations from 1235-53
was 1,657 of whom 276 were magistri, i.e. about 16.75%

RICHARD GRAVESEND'S EPISCOPATE - 1258-1279

<u>Archdeaconry</u>	<u>No. of Presentations</u>	<u>No. of Masters</u>	<u>Reference</u>
			Register
Lincoln	669	114	pp. 1-87
Stow	65	9	pp. 88-97
Northampton	325	47	pp. 98-137
Leicester	198	28	pp. 138-166
Huntingdon	171	26	pp. 167-189
Bedford	173	24	pp. 190-212
Oxford	190	37	pp. 213-235
Buckingham	233	29	pp. 236-263

The total number of presentations from 1258-1279
was 2,024 of whom 314 were magistri, i.e. about 15.5%

OLIVER SUTTON'S EPISCOPATE - 1280-1299

Lincoln	707	94	vol. 1
Northampton	390	63	vol. 11
Stow	118	24	Stow rolls
Leicester*	165	22	Leicester Folios and rolls
Huntingdon	91	8	Huntingdon Folios
Bedford	146	22	Bedford Folios and roll
Buckingham	88	13	Buckingham Folios
Oxford	104	23	Oxford Folios

The total number of presentations from 1280-1299
was 1,809 of whom 269 were magistri, i.e. about 14.87%

As can be seen from these percentages, during Grosseteste's episcopate the proportion of masters increased by over 4 per cent and then dropped a little during Gravesend's and Oliver Sutton's episcopates.

* Details are incomplete, as the roll containing the institutions for this archdeaconry from the beginning of Sutton's episcopate to the summer of 1286 has been lost. (Prof. R. M. T. Hill).

APPENDIX III

ALIENS PRESENTED TO PARISHES IN THE DIOCESE

One of the causes of resentment throughout the thirteenth century and after was the presentation of livings to aliens. It will be seen that as the century progressed the numbers of aliens in Lincoln Diocese declined, although prebends were still presented to foreigners.

LIST 1

FOREIGNERS APPOINTED TO PARISHES DURING HUGH OF WELLS' BISHOPRIC

<u>Presentee</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Geoffrey de Dunville	Warin, son of Gerald	Whitchurch	i. p.33
John, son of Peter Sarraceni Romani	A. & C. of Leicester	Farningham	i. p.41
Silvester*	Gerald	Whitchurch	i. p.48
Robert	A. & C. of Westminster	Launton	i. p.70
Stephen, Archdeacon of Coutances	P. & C. of Trentham	Stenigot	i. p.86
Nicholas, brother of Fulk de Breaute	Papal Legate	Modbourne	i. p.92
John, son of Peter Sarraceni Sarraceni	Richard de Umfreville	Orton on the Hill (Citerton)	i. p.121
Stephen de Fossa Nova, nephew of pope's chamberlain	The Bishop	Nettleton	i. p.124
Andrew, son of Octavian Tecal, Roman citizen	The Bishop	Horbling (mediety)	i. p.125
William de St. Germain Pope's writer	The Bishop	Little Bytham (prebend)	i. p.128
Gregory, nephew of Gregory, Cardinal Deacon of St. Theodore	The Bishop	Scalford	i. p.169
Laurence de Bononia (Boulogne)	Count of Boulogne	Springthorpe	i. p.220
Anon, nephew of G. papal legate	Roger de Herley	Knaptoft	i. pp.239-40

* Those who needed a chaplain who could speak English.

HUGH OF WELLS (continued)

John, nephew of Geoffrey, papal legato	The King	Rothley	i. p.252
Anon, nephew of G., former papal legate	Abbot of Leicester	Langton	i. p.264
A Roman	Prior of Kyrrh'	Cold Overton	i. p.269
Otuel	Monks of Ivry, Normandy	Asthall	i. p.2
Wibert	Count of Dreux	Mixbury	ii. p.9
William de Paris	Archdeacon of London on behalf of the heir of Robert de Chesterton (his ward)	Chesterton	ii. p.9
Ingelram*	Robert, Count of Dreux	Northleigh	ii. p.18
Berard, writer to the pope	P. & C. of St. Oswald Hostley	Cheddington	ii. p.76
Silvester de Anagni	A. & C. of Gloucester	Wraysbury	ii. p.77
Amicus	The Pope	Slapton	ii. p.87
P., nephew of the Cardinal Deacon of St. Angelus	P. & C. of launde	Wardley	ii. p.117
Guy de Arico	P. & C. of Ashby	Gilden Morton	ii. p.129
Andrew, papal chaplain	A. & C. of Ramsey	Shillington	iii. p.21
Haco	Peter, Duke of Brittany	Wyberton	iii. p.110
Jacinctus, papal chaplain	P. & C. of Durham	Kirkby-em-Bain	iii. p.143
Robert de Lesia*	A. & C. of St. Mary	York Belton	iii. p.193
Gerard, chano. of the Duke of Brittany	Duke of Brittany	Washingborough	iii. p.207
Peter, nephew of B., papal chamberlain	Papal chamberlain	Barkston	iii. p.213
Matthew de Talavenda*	A. & C. of St. Sever	Haugham	iii. p.192

A total of thirty-two aliens were presented to livings.

* Those who needed a chaplain who could speak English.

LIST 2FOREIGNERS APPOINTED TO PARISHES DURING ROBERT GROSSETESTE'S EPISCOPATE

<u>Presentee</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Reference</u> Register
Paul, natus Loti civis Roman'	Benedict	Denton	p. 6
Maurice, clerk of S. Celsus de urbo	Benedict	Ponten	p. 30
Suspirus de Baiocis (Bayour)	Mleanor de Baiocis (Bayeux)	Grimoldby	p. 42
Conrad de Colcenato or Kokenato	Haverholme Priory Sempringham Priory	Sleaford Norton Disney	p. 76 p. 77
Roland, papal chaplain and doctor	The Pope	Tathwell	pp. 84-5
James, son of the late William Piotavinus 'civis Fannens' (?)	P. & C. Sempringham	Ludborough	p. 106
Gile de Spoleto	Peterborough Abbey	Warrington	p. 170
Urricus, nephew of Cardinal Otto	Merton Priory	King's Cliffe	p. 179
Ottobamus, clerk to the legate	Thorney Abbey	Steane	p. 182
Almaricus de Flesseto	Vitalis Engayne	Blatherwyke	p. 193
Alcmanus de Cokenato	Westminster Abbey	Doona	p. 220
Guy de Russillon	The King	Finedon	p. 221
Albri(i)us de Pecamp	The King	Peakirk	p. 243
John, clerk, 'filium lendon' civis Anagnie	The Pope	Chesterton	pp. 255, 267
Gerard de Privino	Lewes Priory	Little Berkhamstead	p. 268
Otto, papal chaplain	Walden Abbey	Amorsham	p. 353
Adinulfus, nephew of the Pope	Papal provision (Patrons: P. & C. Coventry)	Scraptoft	p. 394
A. de Florencia	P. & C. launde	Wardley	p. 417
Rocelinus de Anderia	Dec Abbey	Cottisford	p. 265

In addition to the above names must be added Silvio de Oreste, rector of Hemel Hempstead, who gave permission for Robert de Haya to have a private chapel in his parish (p. 265). Thus the total number of aliens appointed to parishes during Grosseteste's episcopate was twenty-one. Conrad de Kokenato received two which seem to have been held simultaneously, namely, Sleaford and Norton Disney.

LIST 3

FOREIGNERS APPOINTED TO PARISHES DURING RICHARD GRAVESSEND'S EPISCOPATE

<u>Presentee</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Gerard de Granson	Peter de Sabaudia	Washingborough	p. 1
Salvagus de Florentia	The Templars	Caythorp	Intro. p. xxviii, p. 63
Alimandus de Aora	Barlings Abbey	Sudbrook	p. 93
Geoffroy de Fontinello*	Ralph de Albinaco	Brozholme	p. 96
John de Estlando	St. Wandrille Abbey Normandy	Towcester	p. 99
Giles de Oudenarde	The King	Ridlington	p. 105
Simon de Cambray	Peterborough Abbey	Cottingham and Barnack	p. 107 p. 112
William of Hanover	S. Pierre-sur-Dive Abbey (Calvados)	Potters Rury	p. 127
Hamo de Alta Ripa	Lenton Priory	Rushden	p. 135
Hugh de Vienna	Leicester Abbey	Hungerton	p. 158
Albricius de Fécamp	Thorney Abbey	Stanground	p. 167
Peter Chaceporc	Westminster Abbey	Aldenham	p. 169
Thomas de Fécamp	Peterborough Abbey	Alwalton	p. 171
John de Agnania	Thorney Abbey	Stibbington	p. 172
William de Frauncheloye	Dom Imbert de Monte Ferrando	Offord Cluny	p. 179
John de Oudenarde	Grestein Priory	Marsh Gibbon	p. 254-5

In addition to the above Master Simon de Rupe Cauardi formerly held Toft (p.35), Master Emericus formerly held Blatherwich St. Mary (p.36) and Reginald de Garey held Seagrave until his appointment as Bishop of Agen (p.157). The total number of aliens appointed to parishes during Gravesend's episcopate was thus nineteen.

* Geoffrey de Fontinello needed a priest companion who could speak English.

LIST 4

FOREIGNERS APPOINTED TO PARISHES DURING OLIVER SUTTON'S EPISCOPATE

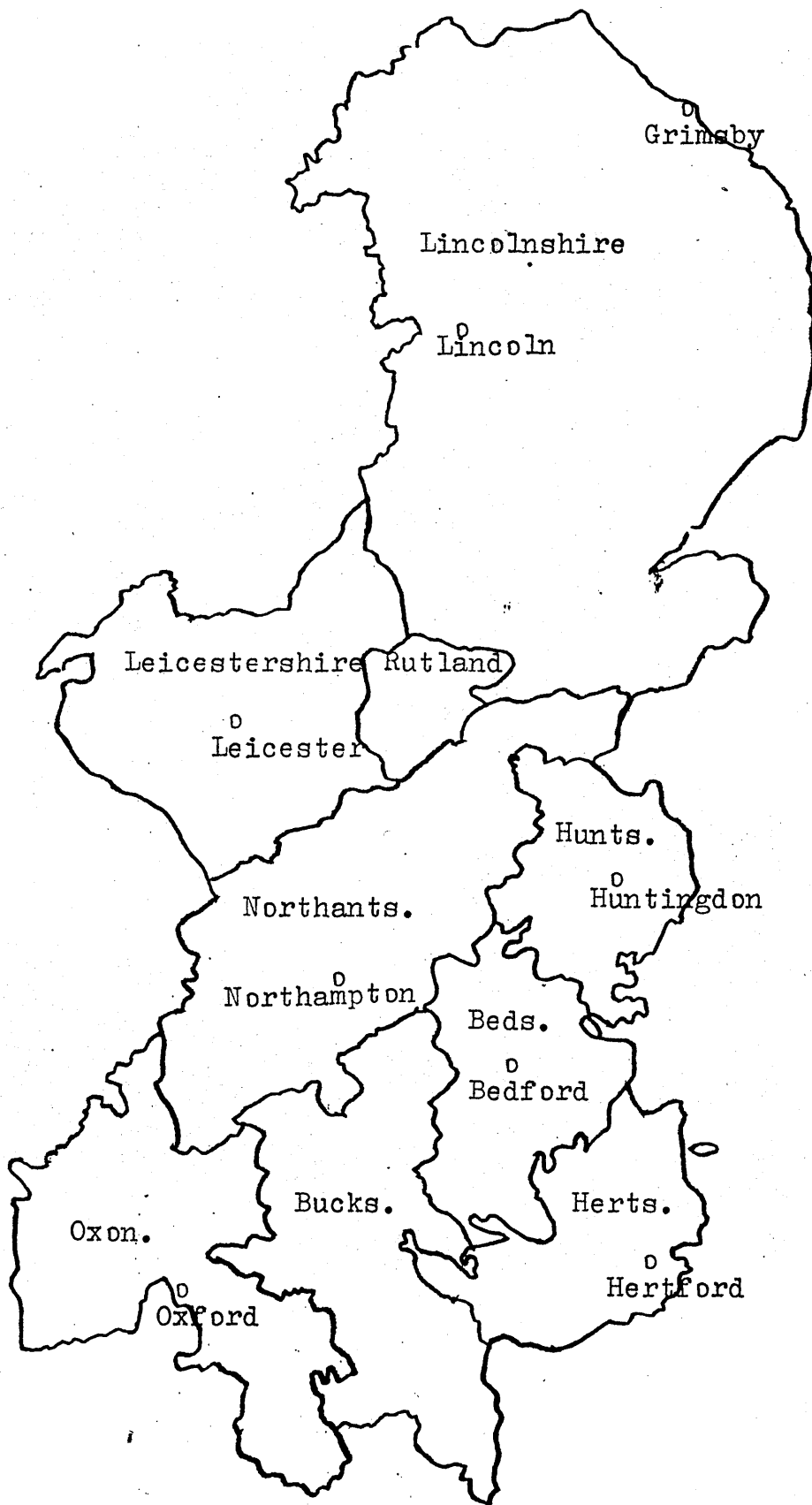
<u>Presentee</u>	<u>Patron</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Adam de Bayeux	Elias de Rabayn Kt.	Grimoldby	i. p.34
William of Paris	John of Bath, Kt.	Benington in Holland	i. p.73
Hugh de Vienne	P. & C. of Trentham	Belchford (North mediety)	i. pp.95, 10
Eymo (sic)* de Vienne (on resignation of Hugh)	P. & C. of Trentham	Belchford (North mediety)	i. p.107
Walter of Bonneville	William of Stoke	Welby	i. p.174
William of Paris	John of Paris	Somerby by Grantham	i. p.211
Humbert de Vienne	King Edward	Goddington	ii. p.30
Lothair of Florence	P. & C. of Lenton	Rushden	ii. pp.46-7
Hugh de Vienne	Lord Edmund of Langley, son of King Henry III	Raunds	ii. p.47
Nicholas de Beauvais	Philip Burnel Kt.	Wootton	ii. p.68
Andrew de Ulgis	A. & C. of Pipowell	Ashley	ii. p.73
Simon de Beauvais (because Nicholas had failed to be ordained priest)	John of Hastings Kt.	Wootton	ii. p.102
William of ? Bouvines Doctor of Canon Law	Papal provision (Boniface VIII)	Towcester	ii. p.130

In addition to the above Eymo de Vienne was presented to second living, Farthinghoe, by the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester. (ii. p.98)

The total number of aliens appointed to parishes during Sutton's episcopate was thirteen.

* Eymo de Vienne: On folio 256^v the name is spelt Aymo.

Medieval Diocese of Lincoln



INDEX OF PERSONS

Abbreviations used:

a. and c., abbot (abbess) and convent; d., daughter of;
m., master; n., note; p. and c., prior (priores) and
convent; r., rector; s., son of; v., vicar.

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